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OHIO COMES OF AGE: 1873-1900

by Philip D. Jordan

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A HISTORY
OF THE STATE
OF OHIO
VOLUME V

THE OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORY OF
THE STATE OF OHIO

THE HISTORY OF
THE
STATE OF OHIO

Edited by

CARL WITTKÉ

Professor of History, Oberlin College

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CARL WITTKÉ • WILLIAM T. UTTER

VOLUME V
OHIO COMES
OF AGE
1873-1900

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and Historical Society
Columbus, Ohio, 1943

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Editor's Introduction to Volume V

IN THE post-Civil War generation, with which this volume is concerned, Ohio made the transition from a primarily rural and agricultural State into the era of industry, large scale commerce and urban civilization. The years from 1873 to 1900 represent a period of enormous and rapid economic progress, interrupted only temporarily by such passing signs of economic and social maladjustment as the panics of 1873 and 1893 and the depression years which followed them. The rapid march toward what is known as modernity was remarkable indeed and productive of an entirely new standard of living. Unfortunately, and perhaps unavoidably, this evolution was also marked, as Rutherford B. Hayes expressed it, by an emphasis on "coarse, hard, material things."

The politics of the period covered in this volume begin with the writing of a new, elaborate State constitution, and its immediate rejection at the polls by the voters of Ohio. From 1873 to 1900, such giants as Hayes, McKinley, Garfield, Hanna, Sherman, Foraker, Allen, Thurman and others held the center of the political stage in Ohio and played roles of such significance that their activities spread beyond the confines of their particular commonwealth. At all points, Professor Jordan has treated Ohio events in their proper setting with reference to the larger national arena. The political battles of these years centered largely around such issues as the Panic of 1873; panaceas for economic depressions, such as "rag money" and free silver; problems of the farmer and his land, and the difficulties he encountered in transporting his products to a larger market; the rise of the temperance movement and the ever-present issues of local option and prohibition in State politics; the decline of the old canal interests and the rise of the railroad magnates and electrical transportation companies; the problems and reactions of immigrant groups in the Ohio population; and the

bitter contests between capital and labor in the years when Ohio experienced the birth pains incident to her emergence from a "forest state into a factory empire." Urbanization and industrialization brought the city boss and municipal boodle in their train, the need for reforms like the Australian ballot, the problem of tenements and slums, police and fire protection, water supply and sewage, and all the intricate questions of general welfare and public health which are consequences of the industrial revolution.

Professor Jordan, relying largely on manuscript sources and extensive use of newspapers, has discussed all these questions in detail and with much new information. His interest and writing for years, however, has been primarily in the by-ways of American social and intellectual history, and so his volume will be found to contain many chapters and pages dealing with materials which were, not so long ago, regarded as being beyond the scope and province of the historian. The author discusses secret societies; sports and amusements, from roller skating rinks, wrestling and bicycling to riding academies; music and the theater; education in Ohio; the manners and customs of the people, including detailed descriptions of the interiors and exteriors of their homes and public buildings; the medical profession, farm almanacs and patent medicines; prisons and other public institutions; inventions, science, arts and letters, including periodicals, songs and best sellers; and many other topics which make this volume not only interesting reading, but a real contribution to the history of the life of the people who made up Buckeye society from 1873 to the end of the century.

CARL WITTKE

oberlin college.

Preface

THIS story of Ohio was written primarily for the people of the Buckeye State. It was their forefathers who founded the commonwealth, who witnessed its development from a forest rusticity to a mighty industrial center, and who, in the white-heat of their political passions, moulded its democratic form of government.

In relating the narrative of Ohio's coming of age in the twenty-seven years prior to 1900, the author has attempted to write both an appealing and an accurate account of the period and to touch upon matters of weight as well as upon the trivia of life. He has sought to delineate a *living* Ohio. The whole story, in the sense of perfect completeness, has not been told. History seldom tells all, but the author has endeavored in the following pages to select the representative, the typical and the important.

Many institutions and individuals have contributed to this narrative. Libraries throughout Ohio have been most generous. The Cleveland Public Library and the Western Reserve Historical Society Library have aided as have two Cincinnati libraries, the Cincinnati Public Library and the Mercantile Library. The author is tremendously indebted to Dr. Curtis Garrison and Dr. James Rodabaugh, of the Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, not only for generous access to the personal papers of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, but also for pamphlet materials and for microfilm pertaining to the election of 1875. Miss Eleanor S. Wilby, of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, has aided him in many ways over a period of years. At the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library in Columbus, the author examined the executive letter books and the correspondence of Ohio governors for the period from 1873 to 1900. In addition, he drew upon other materials there. The library of the Ohio State University was found to possess books not easily available elsewhere. The Covington Collection of the Miami University Library proved a treasure-house of historical riches.

In addition to the purely formal type of source materials, such as manuscript collections, letters, and records, the writer found the many reports of Ohio officials, bureaus and commissions to be pertinent. Of particular value were the *Ohio Executive Documents*, legislative acts, court decisions, school laws, agricultural reports, geological surveys, health reports, and statistics of many types. Ohio newspapers of varying shades of political opinion were examined for the thirty-year period and the results used extensively in order to give a picture of the pattern of life. Periodical literature, published in the State and elsewhere, was combed for contributions to this study. The more formal historical journals, such as the *American Historical Review*, the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, and the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, were found to be of significance as were the more informal magazines such as the *North American Review*, the *Chautauquan*, the *Wheelman* and the *National Police Gazette*. In addition to periodical literature, the author examined to advantage innumerable pamphlets on railroads, transportation, insurance, summer resorts and municipal protection. County histories played their part in this study as did theses written at Miami University and elsewhere. Even the novel was searched in order to shed light upon the Ohio scene as depicted by local authors.

The writer owes a debt of gratitude to more individuals than can be acknowledged here. Dean Carl Wittke of Oberlin College, general editor of the series, has in many ways given advice and assistance and has read the entire manuscript; Dr. Charles M. Thomas, of the Ohio State University, read the entire manuscript and offered invaluable editorial suggestions; Professor W. G. Richards of Miami University and Professor Clarence B. Richey of the Ohio State University read portions of the manuscript; Dr. Harlow Lindley, Dr. William D. Overman, Clarence L. Weaver and Miss Bertha E. Josephson of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society extended many courtesies over a period of years; Robert Hampton, Duncan McKinnis and Francis Peacock, the author's assistants, were ever ready to be of service. Mr. Leland

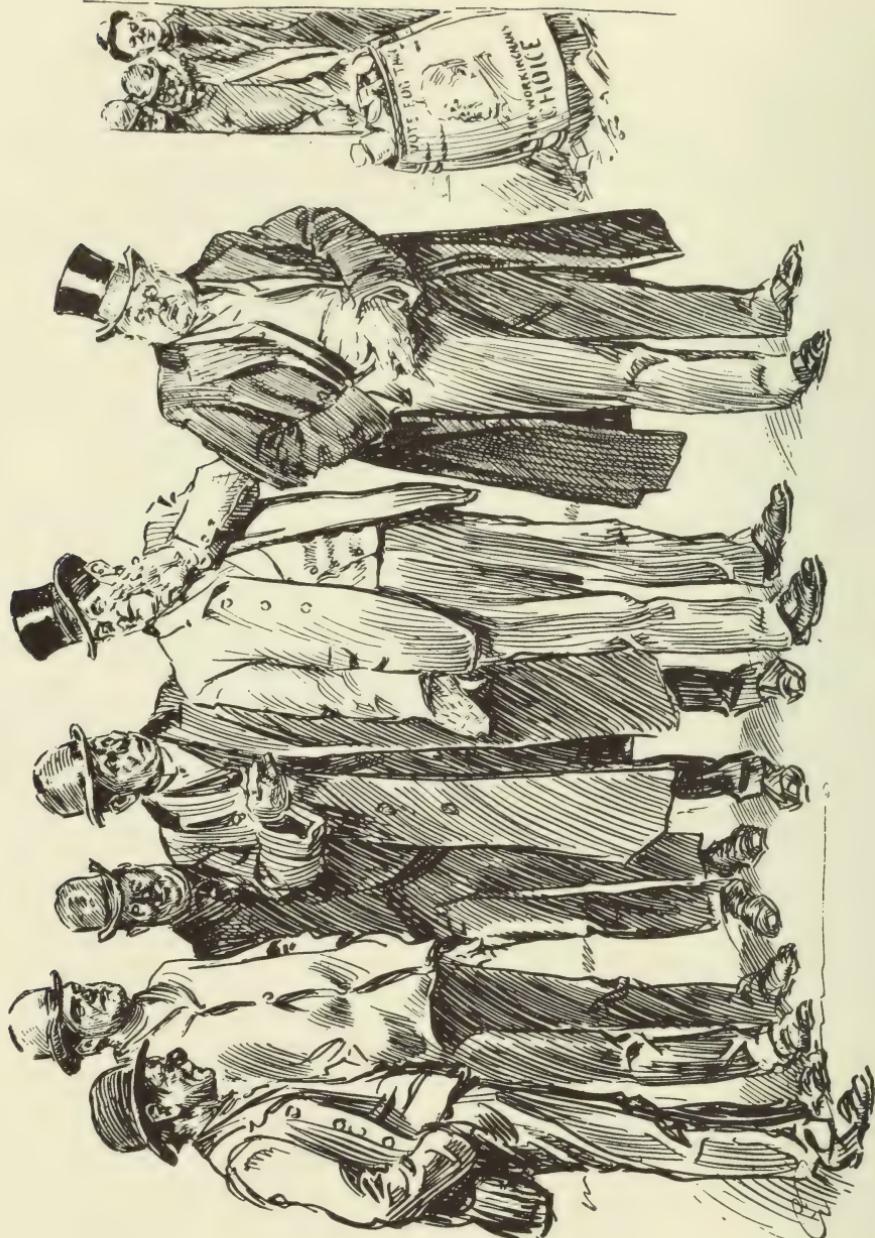
Dutton of the Miami University Library aided the author upon innumerable occasions. Once more he must acknowledge with gratitude the generous help and wise counsel which Professor E. W. King, Miami University librarian, has consistently extended. His advice and bibliographical knowledge have been invaluable. He is also indebted to Miss Dorothy Virtus whose keen eye caught many errors. If this volume carried a dedication page it would read: "For Marion."

PHILIP DILLON JORDAN

OXFORD, May 12, 1942.

OHIO COMES OF AGE

1873-1900



1. IN POLITICS

Charles Dana Gibson, great cartoonist and creator of the "Gibson Girl," was also a penetrating critic of American life. This drawing shows Gibson's conception of a politician in a characteristic pose with hangers-on and bummers awaiting their reward.

CHAPTER I

Ohio Comes of Age

OHIO came of age in the thirty-year period from 1870 to 1900. Socially, politically and economically, the State and its people put aside the matrix of an earlier way of life. Modernity was emphasizing a machine and money culture. Rugged individualism and a Calvinistic belief in the dignity of hard work which had permeated personal philosophies of pioneers were disappearing.

More and more, men were learning to reap profits in the fields of business and high finance. More and more, too, men were working for other men rather than for themselves. The arts and crafts of earlier days were disappearing along with the artisan. Huge factories, committed to mass production and to an interchangeable parts system, were beginning to standardize Ohio products and life.

Bounded by the Great Lakes on the north and the Ohio River on the south, Ohio lay almost in the center of the route of direct travel between the agricultural West and the industrial East. It was said to be "the guerdon" of the great central valley of the Nation.¹ The State pulsed with the thunder of fast freight trains and shook with the roar of roccoco Pullmans carrying conservative politicians, city bosses, oil speculators, iron magnates, cattle buyers, tin-horn gamblers and plain folks who went traveling on the cars. Raucous factory whistles blew at seven in the morning and at five in the afternoon in communities which only a generation or so earlier had been quiet hamlets. The tin dinner pail was the symbol of Ohio's working legions.

In the rapidly growing urban centers with their typical, drab main streets and their stores with false fronts were clearly defined social classes. To live on the "wrong side of the tracks" was more than a geographical distinction. In many instances it was a social

¹ Charles Ellet, Jr., *The Mississippi and Ohio Rivers* (Philadelphia, 1853), 231.

stigma. The poor and the unfortunate were remembered by ward politicians and local bosses when votes were wanted, and by gentle Christians who at Christmas gingerly set baskets in grimy cottages. Tenement dwellers, however, usually were left strictly alone except when it came time to collect rents.

In prominent residential districts, sweeping drives curved from streets to imposing structures of brick and stone with mansard roofs. The middle class lived a typical bourgeois existence. Only on the farm did life continue in anything like the pattern of an earlier day. But rumblings of discontent came from the agriculturist. He found himself raising crops for markets far beyond his reach or understanding. The economics of price-fixing were too intricate for him to understand. He complained that he received less for his crops and had to pay more for what he purchased; that railroads robbed him when he shipped corn or cattle; that combines and monopolies deliberately strangled free enterprise; and that his sons and daughters were lured by promises of quick riches to leave the old homestead and take up life in the wicked city. The Buckeye, however, continued to sow and harvest, to refuse to participate in rural organizations and to vote the same old ticket straight.

Nevertheless, the Ohio farmer, like other agriculturists throughout the Nation, was living in a changing world. Although seasons continued to come and go with their usual regularity and the rich smell of fertility still clung to the earth, there were radical changes. Technology and mechanization sharply challenged old ideals of farm life. The agrarian tradition enunciated by Jefferson when he said, "Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God . . ." was being replaced by the forces of commercialization, urbanization and technological advances.² A business economy made new demands upon agriculture. By 1890, if not earlier, farmers were apt to be skeptical of the homely sentiments expressed in a poem published in 1860.

² U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *An Historical Survey of American Agriculture* (Washington, D. C., 1941), Yearbook Separate No. 1783, p. 116.

"The Farmers are coming, make room, make room,
The Farmers are coming, make room, make room,
They're felling our forests, enriching our lands,
Improvement is ever the work of their hands:
All hail! to the Farmer, our brave pioneer,
Whose praises resounding are heard far and near.
O! who is so noble and gen'rous as he,
In city, or village, or woodland, or lea?"³

An earlier optimism, in many instances, was qualified by disillusionment, bewilderment and pessimism which were to continue long after 1900.

The thirty years prior to the turn of the century were heavy with affairs of moment and with small irritations. Great fires and peace-disturbing strikes brought property destruction and economic unrest. Floods inundated cities and riots disturbed the peace. Panics, those periodic maladjustments in business and industry, shook the faith of many Ohio laboring men in the stability of a laissez-faire philosophy. Long queues of the unemployed stood silently and sullenly in the 1870's and 1890's before soup kitchens and relief stations. Big business, on the other hand, increased in capital, in number of corporations and in productive capacity. Vast wealth was being accumulated by oil companies, railroad promoters, steel manufacturers and market speculators. At Cleveland, the Rockefeller interests were organizing and developing a network of trusts that baffled both low and high courts. Agricultural implement manufacturers at Springfield, Massillon and Dayton made more-than-tidy profits.

The period was also one of expansion in transportation and communication. Leisurely canal days of a previous era were replaced by long lines of shining iron or steel rails that pushed across the State and crisscrossed in an ever-changing pattern of branch lines and main tracks. The whistle of a locomotive was "railroad" time for many Ohioans who knew to the minute when an express

³ *Ibid.*, 123.

was due. Howe bridges stood firm or sometimes crumbled beneath red-plush day coaches and stubby engines of the post-war period. A patient public became acquainted with a railroad philosophy ascribed to Vanderbilt by a reporter: "The public be damned." During the snide seventies, Western Union was showing promise of becoming one of the great telegraph companies of the Nation. Toward the close of the nineteenth century, the time-honored horse and buggy and the family carriage gave way to the automobile. When the first Winton and Packard cars appeared they excited praise and indignant comment in about equal proportions.

A vast immigration of foreigners flocked into Ohio. Irish and Germans who had seen and appreciated the richness of Ohio soil and the opportunities for work were augmented by other peoples. Jews came in ever-increasing numbers. The mighty industries of the Cleveland area offered promise for southern Europeans who made the Forest City by 1900 one of the most cosmopolitan in the State. Bohemians, Hungarians and Russians added their tongues and energies to a score of other immigrant groups who established their own newspapers, churches, clubs and social life. In 1900, eleven per cent of Ohio's total population was foreign born. Twenty-nine per cent of the total foreign population were residing in Ohio cities, and seventy-one per cent were living in the country. In 1900, 16.7 per cent of Akron's population were foreign born; 17.8 per cent of Cincinnati's population; 32.6 per cent of Cleveland's population, and 27.2 per cent of Youngstown's population.⁴ In 1870, the population of Ohio was 2,665,260. Thirty years later the count was 4,157,545. Urban growth, indeed, was one of the social phenomena of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The population of Akron, for example, increased 67.2 per cent in the decade from 1880 to 1890; that of Cincinnati, 16.4 per cent ;that of Cleveland, 63.2 per cent, and that of Columbus, 70.7 per cent.⁵

Politically, Ohio seemed to be a Republican State. There was good reason for this, for the Civil War with its attendant problems

⁴ *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington, D. C., 1901), I. *Population*, ciii, cx.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 434.

of reconstruction had fastened a Republican philosophy upon the people. Thousands of veterans, with bronze G. A. R. emblems on their lapels and imbued with a love of Lincoln and an intense hatred for the South, remembered the Union when they went to the polls where they identified the Republican party with freedom and the Democratic party with secession. Then, too, the fact that Ohio was becoming an industrial State led conservatives to support a political party that championed hard money and a high protective tariff. Farmers also remembered the generous public land policy of Republican administrations. Of twelve men who became governor between 1868 and 1900, eight were Republicans. In this, Ohio was only reflecting a national trend. Throughout the Nation, the period from 1861 to 1889 was an era of Republican control. During this time, the Democrats held the presidency only four years out of the twenty-eight. The exceptions among Ohio governors were William Allen (1874-1876), Richard M. Bishop (1878-1880), George Hoadly (1884-1886), and James E. Campbell (1890-1892). The General Assembly throughout the years leaned more to the Republican cause than to the Democratic. Political ethics were none too high during the period, but probably were no worse than in other American states and cities. In 1908, for example, William Randolph Hearst charged Joseph B. Foraker, while United States Senator, with receiving huge sums of money from the Standard Oil Company. Although Foraker insisted that the money had been paid him for legal services, his reputation was challenged and he soon retired to private life. Some politicians bought public office as they might speculate on a bullish market. City bosses were gathering boodle by the bale. It was a time of high stakes and few rules of the game.

Temperamentally, the Ohioan was no different from other Americans. Ambitious, forward-looking, and yet conservative in politics, religion and education, the average Buckeye was far more interested in material advantages than in cultural gains. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* described the Ohioan when it characterized the American. "The American," commented the *Enquirer*, "dies from overwork

and anxiety. When he is five years old he begins school with the determination to be at the head of his class. He will outrun, out-jump and lick any boy of his size. He enters upon a condition of strain that is perpetual. As he goes on it gets worse. He must be in politics at twenty, rich at thirty, great at forty and if he measurably succeeds he is decaying at fifty and is dead at sixty. He ought to be dead. It is a fitting punishment for his audacity and his steady violation of the laws of nature.”⁶

Yet the Ohioan was a good provider, was jealous of the safety of his wife and family, and attempted to gain for them the better advantages of his day. Frequently uncouth in language and deportment, he, nevertheless, held women in high esteem. Still he believed their place to be in the home and not at the polling booth. Although fond of his children, he wanted them to be “seen and not heard.” His idea of discipline was a sound whipping thoroughly administered in the woodshed or carriage house. The place of women was improving during the period, even though they did not yet have the right of franchise. A new liberalism was permitting women to enter medical schools, to hold certain local positions of importance, to become police matrons and to engage in organized sports and athletic games. In addition, women took an active part in political campaigns. Among the leaders of the Hillsboro Crusade against the liquor traffic was Eliza Jane Trimble Thompson who organized the first crusade and became recognized as one of the most prominent “White Ribbon” workers not only in Ohio, but also in the Nation.⁷ When Lucy Webb Hayes died, she was mourned by many groups which had felt her influence and had admired her temperance views. “No woman of this century,” commented an editor, “will have a more glorious name in the list of human benefactors and staunch adherents to principle, than she, when their history is hereafter written.”⁸

Ohio women, as well as men, were more practical in their ap-

⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 6, 1886.

⁷ Eliza Jane Trimble Thompson, *Hillsboro Crusade Sketches and Family Records* (Cincinnati, 1906), 58-9.

⁸ *Western Christian Advocate* (Cincinnati), July 3, 1889.

proach to life than they were intellectual or aesthetic. Their materialism and objectivity was displayed in an intense faith in the magic of mechanical and scientific devices. More Buckeyes were dabbling in inventions than in music or painting. The United States patent system was hailed on all sides as a boon to progress and to civilization.⁹ Ohioans, like other Americans, could wax as enthusiastic over the invention of the rubber ball with an elastic return and a spring window roller as they could over the development of the mighty reaper, the telephone, or the typewriter. Only in rare instances did individuals or corporations sound a discordant note. In 1886, for example, the Cincinnati Gas Light and Coke Company staged a strenuous campaign to prove the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of Edison's electric light.¹⁰ Yet no municipal corporation or group of corporations could stem the march of progress, and Ohioans continued to endorse enthusiastically the multitude of mechanical and technological advances which the last quarter of the nineteenth century produced.

If the State was predominately practical, it also was not entirely calloused to the refinements of life. A strain of romanticism tinctured society and literature. Melodrama conceived in terms of clearly defined villains with handle-bar mustaches and of pure-as-driven-snow heroines caught public fancy. The utter artificiality of the women portrayed in William Dean Howell's novels illustrates this romantic trend. A "heart-throb" school of poetry, demonstrated in the selections of readings for public and private entertainment, was apt to be more sentimental than realistic. Even the stilted gestures prescribed for speakers smacked more of the emotional than of the intellectual. "Evening on the Farm," accompanied with appropriate gestures and proper voice inflections, was a soul-stirring favorite on recitation programs as were "Measuring the Baby" (the pathetic or subdued style), "No Mortgage on the Farm" (the tran-

⁹ E. V. Smalley, "The United States Patent Office," *Century* (New York), XXXIX (1900), *passim*.

¹⁰ A. Hickenlooper, *Edison's Incandescent Electric Lights for Street Illumination: Report of an Argument before the Committee on Light, Municipal Council* (Cincinnati, 1886), *passim*.

quil style), and "The Gambler's Wife" (the dramatic style).¹¹

A more serious art, of course, appeared in many urban communities. In Cincinnati, the annual Music Festival and the Art Institute were not only encouraging local artists to create, but also were striving to improve popular taste. The Forest City had its artists' colony and its musical celebrations. Elsewhere throughout the State interest was developing in the fine arts, letters, and in the intellectual life. Of great moment was the rapid development of public libraries and historical museums. More and more Ohioans were having access to books which previously had been denied them. The growth of fraternal and secret societies also stimulated interest in the refinements of life. German and other racial organizations sponsored song fests, endorsed reading rooms, and stimulated artistic and intellectual activity.

Improvements in educational methods and in curricula contributed to the enlightenment of the State. Rural schools, although in many instances still primitive, were coming under a liberalizing influence. In cities, courses in the industrial and mechanical arts gradually were becoming accepted. Schools were beginning to be constructed with libraries, laboratories and recreation rooms. The thirty years prior to 1900 also witnessed the beginning of the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College which was to develop into the Ohio State University. Medical colleges, schools of law, pharmacy and nursing, were beginning to take modern form. Other Ohio colleges and universities were reorganizing in accordance with the spirit of the times. Not until after the turn of the century, however, was higher education to assume the elaborate pattern known today.

Closely allied with the development of mass education was the growth of an interest in organized sport and play. Although Ohio colleges were not to engage seriously in intercollegiate sports until the eighties, the State in general had long been concerned with baseball. The Cincinnati Reds became famous, and baseball teams

¹¹ John W. Iliff, *Iliff's Select Readings for Public and Private Entertainment* (Chicago, 1893), 114, 213, 252, 171.

and leagues were formed throughout the State. Football, played according to elementary rules, was popular with college populations. Basketball was sponsored by the Y. M. C. A. Minor sports, roller-skating, ice hockey and track events, developed rapidly. Horseback riding, golf and tennis attracted other groups. Women, clad in Gibson-Girl costumes, engaged in the less strenuous games of lawn tennis and croquet. Bicycling, of course, reached its peak during the nineties when the tandem machine with pneumatic tires was among the favorite vehicles for courtship. The Buckeye Bicycle Club of Columbus, the Champion City Bicycle Club of Springfield and the Cincinnati Bicycle Club, to mention but a few, were flourishing organizations during the early eighties. In 1883, an Ohio division of the League of American Wheelmen was formed in Columbus.¹² On Lake Erie, Cleveland residents took pleasure in sailing and yachting.

The beneficial influence of sports and games upon Ohio health was evident, yet the State still fell prey to periodic epidemics of smallpox, scarlet fever and pulmonary and intestinal diseases. Before 1900, many Ohio cities were engaged in the construction of sewage disposal plants and in laying water mains which connected with inside toilets. Despite this advance, however, more homes throughout the State still utilized the outside vault or privy than the inside toilet. Too frequently garbage disposal systems were inadequate to meet the demands of an increasing population. A State Board of Health, however, had been organized and was conducting strenuous efforts to improve health and sanitary conditions. The fight against the privy, the fly, contaminated water supplies, dirty cafes and restaurants and unclean bathing beaches was to continue for years. Even vaccination was not approved by some physicians in 1890. The battle against a too-high death rate was waged in every county.

Reforms also were manifest in municipal, county and State institutions. Local jails during the seventies were in the main entirely inadequate either from the health or psychological point of view.

¹² *The Wheelman* (Boston), I (1883), 295, 296, 301; *ibid.*, II (1883), 471.

First offenders were herded in county "bull pens" with hardened criminals. A contract-labor system was in effect in the State penitentiary. By the turn of the century many of these evils were abated if not abolished. Inmates of county homes and asylums faced almost primitive methods of treatment and of living in 1873. "Lunatic" asylums too frequently were run by incompetent administrators who relied upon strait-jackets and nippers to subdue recalcitrant patients. Diet was unscientific, guards were frequently brutes rather than nurses and adjustment relied more upon force than upon approved mental therapy. Reforms, however, gradually began to be effected, not only in penal institutions and mental hospitals, but also in the homes for delinquent children. An attempt was made to provide books, to furnish entertainment and to offer a "home" atmosphere. Social workers and administrators of corrective institutions slowly learned that one way to reform the mal-adjusted citizen was to control his environment. Cities and private charities established bureaus for the care of the indigent, for the treatment of the sick and for the protection of the working girl.

Although wages were relatively low throughout the thirty years from 1870 to the coming of the twentieth century, Ohio laborers in times unpunctured by strikes and depressions were able to live fairly well. Their conditions of labor, however, left much to be desired. Hours were long, machinery improperly safeguarded and factories far from fireproof. As a result, hundreds of Ohioans were trapped in burning buildings, killed or mangled at their machines, or slain by boiler explosions. In cities, tenement districts, where scores of workers resided, were unsafe, unhealthy and crime-producing. Entire families congregated in one or two rooms without running water or adequate sanitary facilities.

Although the seventies were years of crime and vice in Ohio cities, an awakened public gradually brought prostitutes, pick-pockets, thieves and burglars under control. Police departments, once politically controlled, were emancipated and placed under nonpartisan boards. The introduction of the telegraph, telephone and modern electricity made possible quicker communication be-

tween police boxes and central stations, and, in addition, made it easier for the average householder to summon police and fire aid. Although Buckeye fire departments graduated from horse-drawn apparatus and inferior hose during the period, scientific fire-fighting methods did not come into vogue until after 1900. Nevertheless, great progress had been made during the previous thirty years. Automatic alarms were installed, the drop-harness introduced, fire boats put into use in lake cities and salvage corps created. Despite these advances, however, the eighties saw one serious blaze after another in factories, theaters, warehouses and private homes. As structure after structure crumbled in smoking ruins, insurance rates steadily mounted. During the same period ambulance service increased as did also hospital care. In 1873, a hospital was a place where the sick died; thirty years later it was a well-managed institution where the sick were made well. The old-fashioned pesthouse disappeared and was replaced by the contagious hospital.

Although Ohio remained in the grip of city bosses who manipulated patronage with agility and whose bummers could be relied upon to swing any election, a reform movement had begun. George B. Cox and John R. McLean, masters of Cincinnati for many years, eventually were to be replaced by more conscientious administrators. Cleveland was not to harbor Mark Hanna and the Standard Oil ring forever. Brand Whitlock, Tom Johnson and Samuel M. Jones, representatives of the progressive movement, helped pave the way for clean city government. Eventually, Dayton was to sponsor a city-manager plan of municipal government.

No great war marred the peace of the United States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Spanish-American War of 1898 scarcely ruffled the domestic life of the Nation and of Ohio. Although public indignation was intense at the sinking of the battleship *Maine*, the war itself did not interfere seriously with daily activities. Ohio did its share by raising several regiments, but only a small proportion of Buckeyes saw actual service at the front. Citizens who remained at home formed war committees, entertained soldiers en route to training camps, and gave free med-

ical aid to sick troopers.¹³ The State was not to know a tremendous international conflict until the time of Woodrow Wilson and the first World War.

Even though Ohio was embracing the forms of modernity and the trivia of a new age, it still preserved jealously many pioneer virtues. Although its politicians, in many instances, might be contemptuous of the common man, the average citizen clung tenaciously and loyally to his faith in democratic government, in equalitarianism, and in the rights of man. Men of Ohio knew that Ohio was good, that it offered advantages superior to those of other states, and that it was a State worthy of its place in the Union. The Buckeye abroad was proud to say he came from Ohio where presidents were made, where industry flourished, and where men could either praise or damn their leaders. He boasted of his public schools, of his baseball teams, of his bumper crops of corn, wheat, sheep and hogs, and of his homes and public buildings. He predicted even greater things for Ohio in the future. Like other Americans there was nothing he could not do if only he were given the time. The many centennial odes and celebrations demonstrated Ohio's patriotism.

By 1900 no longer was the worldly well-being of Ohio more in prospect than in possession as Salmon P. Chase had thought in 1838. The State had realized the expectations of Chase, and had forged ahead through periods of foundation, settlement, growth and development until it came to maturity with the dawn of the twentieth century.¹⁴

¹³ Karl W. Heiser, *Hamilton in the War of '98* (Hamilton, Ohio, 1899), chap. IX.

¹⁴ Salmon P. Chase, "Fifty Years of Ohio," *North American Review* (Boston), XLVII (1838), 19.

The Political Scene, 1873-1877

THE Buckeyes set about making Ohio one vast college of civics. They reduced the governor's appointing power, that there might be more officers elected by ballot; they divided their territory into eighty-eight counties, each a political centre or vortex; they arranged that every public question should be ferociously debated in district schoolhouses. And in such debates you felt the force of discordant ancestry. Cavalier joined issue with Puritan, Knickerbocker with Pennsylvania Dutchman, Quaker with Kentuckian; no two men had the same point of view. Never, I venture to propose, did argument draw redder fire from keener steel. And although there are not wanting those philosophic cynics who urge that political excitement, like feminine loveliness, runs but skin-deep, there is no denying that the common people get monstrously cross about it."¹

Had Rollin L. Hartt, the traveling journalist who wrote this penetrating analysis of Ohio's political temperament, been present at the sessions of the Constitutional Convention of 1873 and heard the heated discussions of the common man, he might have believed that Ohioans lost their minds over politics. Certainly, he would have thought it strange for a State to write a new constitution and then completely reject it. Yet that is what happened.

By 1871 Ohio Democrats and Republicans felt that the time had come to reexamine the Constitution of 1851 which had served as the fundamental law of the State for twenty years. Changing conditions within the State as well as the Nation seemed to make it imperative to adjust the constitution to meet new trends. The population of Ohio had increased from 1,980,329 in 1850 to 2,665,260

¹ Rollin L. Hartt, "The Ohioans," *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), LXXXIV (1899), 689-90.

in 1870. The bulk of the population was composed of farmers and workingmen who dressed simply, avoided pretense and despised affected manners. It was said that there were not a hundred silk hats in the State.

In addition, Ohio, as other progressive states, was feeling the impact of a developing commercialization and industrialization. More and more factories were being constructed, corporations were increasing in great numbers, railroads were laying more trackage and the number of wealthy men was steadily increasing. Rutherford B. Hayes, inspired by John Ruskin, described the new era: "But now succeeds the iron age, the age of petroleum, of coal, of iron, of mines, of railways, of great fortunes suddenly acquired; smoke and dust covering, concealing, or destroying the lovely landscapes. Coarse, hard, material things."² City population was growing rapidly to the chagrin of the farmer who was loath to see his sons and daughters leave the old homestead for the pitfalls of urban life. Grain pits and stock exchanges in Chicago and New York were influencing the business practices of entrepreneurs throughout the country. The "get-rich-quick" concept was more dynamic in its effect than the earlier doctrine of hard work and the laying-away of savings. This bent toward materialism reflected not only a local, but also a national trend. Charles Dudley Warner, however, described Cincinnati as a "rich city, priding itself on the solidity of its individual fortunes and business, and the freedom of its real property from foreign mortgages."³

There were other factors which prompted forward-looking men to urge a constitutional revision. Courts were far behind with cases on the docket, and the administration of justice was slow and unwieldy. In 1873, the Supreme Court had a docket of more than four hundred undisposed cases. "How does it happen," heatedly inquired a member of the Constitutional Convention, "that this vast accumulation of the business of the State has been brought about?"

² Charles R. Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Columbus, 1924), III, 262.

³ Charles D. Warner, "Studies of the Great West," *Harper's Magazine* (New York), LXXVII (1888), 429.

To this delegate clogged courts were an evil which must be remedied.⁴

Another vexing problem concerned the manufacture, sale and importation of all intoxicating liquors. Opinion was divided throughout the State and discussion reached hot-heat between groups which wished no further liquor legislation, groups which advocated a licensing system, and groups which were completely prohibitionist. Petition after petition was sent to the convention urging action along a particular line.⁵ The liquor problem was to be one of the most complicated to handle successfully during the meetings of the delegates. Less significant revisions centered about questions involving the date of elections, the pay of legislators, the qualified, rather than the absolute, veto, admittance of the Negro to the militia, limitations upon municipal corporations and changes in the levying of revenue and taxation.⁶

In October, 1871, Ohioans approved a proposition calling for a constitutional convention. Two years later, in January, the legislature set up plans for the election of delegates in April. When the convention met in Columbus on May 14 there assembled fifty Republicans, forty-six Democrats and nine Liberals or Independents. The one hundred and five delegates, gathered in the House Chamber, held such an enthusiastic, informal reception for themselves that the first session was late in being called to order.⁷ The oldest delegate present, Judge Thomas W. Powell, a lawyer from Delaware, was named temporary chairman. When a permanent organization was effected, Morrison R. Waite, a distinguished Toledo attorney who had represented the United States in the Alabama Claims before the Geneva Tribunal and was well-known throughout Ohio for his legal brilliance, was elected president. It was some time, however, before the convention got to work. It was even longer before it terminated its protracted sessions. It met in Columbus

⁴ J. G. Adel, *Official Report of the Proceedings and Debates of the Third Constitutional Convention* (Cleveland, 1873), I, 622. Hereafter cited as *Proceedings and Debates*.

⁵ *Proceedings and Debates*, I, 617.

⁶ *Wilmington (Ohio) Journal*, July 30, 1874.

⁷ *Cincinnati Commercial*, May 14, 1873.

until August 8, 1873, and then adjourned to reconvene in Cincinnati on December 2. It concluded its work in May of the following year.⁸

When the delegates met in the Spencer House Hall in Cincinnati on the sixty-third day of the convention they were welcomed by Mayor G. W. C. Johnston who told them what they must have already suspected—that their duties were both “difficult and arduous.” Whether they were saved from “all selfish and political party considerations” as expressed in the opening prayer was doubted by skeptics.⁹ Nevertheless, the work of the convention continued with petitions being received and with committees reporting upon specific recommendations. Such men as George Hoadly and Richard M. Bishop, later to become governors, Lewis D. Campbell, vice-president of the convention, Thomas Ewing, Jr., former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Kansas, and I. N. Alexander, Jacob J. Greene and A. C. Voris labored valiantly to improve the fundamental law.

Perhaps Henry F. Page, a lawyer from Circleville, hit the spirit of the convention when he addressed the delegates on the nature of private corporations. “Society,” he maintained, “ought not to be conducted like a bank, with the sole view of making the largest sum of money out of a man, but it ought to be conducted with some regard to the weakness of human nature. And that is the object of these provisions, to protect the weak against the strong, and the poor against the rich.”¹⁰ At times, of course, feeling was hot and debate intense. Upon other occasions it was amusing to hear politicians berate one another.¹¹ In general, however, the temper of the assembly was restrained and dignified. Possibly the delegates went about their duties with too “singular earnestness and industry” and had, as was intimated by the president of the convention, “undertaken too much.”¹² Some newspapers bluntly agreed to this

⁸ *Proceedings and Debates*, I, 1241.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, ii, 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 2387.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 3257.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, iii, 5369.

opinion. An irate citizen wrote to the *Cincinnati Gazette* saying that after five months of deliberation nothing had been accomplished. On the other hand, the *Cincinnatian* pointed out that after the Christmas holidays of 1873 delegates returned to their duties looking as if they had not had time to refresh themselves.¹³ A Wilmington editor wrote scathingly of "public men who fritter away great opportunities in hair-splitting debates over ingenious and bewildering contrivances to accomplish doubtful purposes."¹⁴ The *Wilmington Journal* took quite the opposite view and seemed especially pleased with the convention's solution of the liquor problem.¹⁵

As a matter of fact, the convention recommended some laudable revisions. The proposed constitution of 1874, said Judge W. H. West who stumped the State in its behalf, contained merits "second only to the great charter of our liberties."¹⁶ It provided for biennial elections for members to the legislature, and also stipulated annual meetings of the assembly with legislators being paid an annual salary rather than the former *per diem* basis. It was recommended that legislators be given the right to demand a separate vote on each item of appropriation bills. The former absolute veto power of the governor was changed to a limited veto. Three-fifths vote of the legislature could override the governor's veto. Article IV contained some radical changes in reference to the judiciary. Probably the most significant was the creation of circuit courts to function between the court of common pleas and the supreme court. Circuit courts were to consist of three judges, two of whom were necessary to form a quorum, or pronounce a decision. These courts were to sit in each county at least twice a year. In the article pertaining to education, it was indicated that "no religious or other sect shall ever have exclusive right to, or control of any part of the school funds of the state." For the first time women were permitted to be elected to any school office except that of state commissioner

¹³ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1874; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 7, 1874.

¹⁴ *Wilmington Clinton Republican*, Aug. 27, 1874.

¹⁵ *Wilmington Journal*, Mar. 19, 1874.

¹⁶ *Clinton Republican*, July 30, 1874.

of schools, and might be appointed to any office except an elective one.

In addition to the proposed constitution itself, three separate propositions were submitted to the people of the State. The first provided for a means of minority party representation on the supreme and circuit benches of the State by specifying that no elector should vote for a greater number of candidates than a majority of the judges of such court and term then to be chosen. Court vacancies were to be filled by appointment by the governor and to continue only until a successor had been elected. The second proposition permitted local political subdivisions to aid railroad construction by subscription, loan, or contribution only if authorized at an election and approved by two-thirds of all the electors. The final proposition introduced the license system for the traffic and control of intoxicating beverages.¹⁷

In August, 1874, the people of Ohio defeated both the proposed constitution and the three special propositions. No one reason was responsible for their rejection. A variety of explanations were offered for the course which Ohioans took. In the first place, temperance advocates violently opposed the license system. "No compromise with evil should be the motto of all," thundered the Wilmington *Clinton Republican*.¹⁸ The *Ohio State Journal* indicated that the people were not really interested in reading or studying the new document, and that the prolonged sessions of the convention had wearied electors too much.¹⁹

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* thought that too many reactionaries opposed the constitution on "general principles,"²⁰ while the Cleveland *Leader* listed nine possible explanations, among them the opposition of all corporate companies, the opposition of county political rings, the dislike of Catholics of the educational propositions, the radicalism of the temperance group who "voted against

¹⁷ For complete text of proposed constitution of 1874 see *Proceedings and Debates*, II, iii, 3545-60; Isaac F. Patterson, *The Constitutions of Ohio* (Cleveland, 1912), 182-236.

¹⁸ *Clinton Republican*, Aug. 13, 1874.

¹⁹ Columbus *Ohio State Journal*, Aug. 20, 1874.

²⁰ Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Aug. 19, 1874.

the Constitution to be sure of defeating license," the lack of hard work and enthusiasm by the advocates of the document and the many Democrats who voted "no" because the constitution was the work initiated by a Republican legislature.²¹ Rutherford B. Hayes wrote that "our defeated constitution was no doubt a pretty good one, but we had a pretty good one already. This fact with the unpopularity of the late convention, caused mainly by its greatly protracted session and tedious discussions, worked the overwhelming defeat of the new paper. I thought it a slight improvement on the old one, and did not vote on its adoption at all. If I had felt interest enough to go to the polls, I should probably have voted for it."²²

After the defeat of the constitution by a vote of 102,885 in favor of its adoption and a vote of 250,169 against, the people gladly forgot the 188-day convention which had cost \$138,391 in *per diem* fees and mileage of members alone and turned once more to normal political interests.²³ Ohio was not to have another constitutional convention until 1912.

Defeat of the constitution, however, did not imply that there were no further problems to embarrass politicians and to vex the people. The six years following 1873 were heavy with financial uncertainties and economic discord. National political problems influenced Ohio with startling effect. In addition, purely local issues disturbed the calm of State politics.

Gossip, discontent and grumbling began as soon as U. S. Grant assumed his presidential duties on March 4, 1873. The Grant administration became involved in a series of frauds and charges of mismanagement which embarrassed Republicans everywhere. Cynical comments filled the public press. The Cincinnati *Commercial*, for example, sarcastically hoped that the President would not be disturbed during a trip to Chicago "by parties who have unseemly anxieties for the public business." It said further that the way Cabinet business was run members were not required to neg-

²¹ Cleveland *Leader*, Aug. 20, 1874.

²² Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 262.

²³ *Proceedings and Debates*, II, iii, Appendix vi.

lect their personal and home affairs.²⁴ It suggested also that "while Grant is looking around for a proper man to fill the office of Chief Justice, he ought not to forget his brother Orville, who has for some time been trying to find employment."²⁵

Such newspaper attacks, coupled with the publication of details concerning fraudulent revenue collections in Massachusetts, corruption in the management of the District of Columbia, discovery of the "Whiskey Ring" in St. Louis, and revelation that the Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, had been engaged in fraud attendant upon contracts in the Indian Territory at Fort Sill, placed Republicans on the defensive and gave Democrats an opportunity to strike vital blows at the opposition.

While loyal, party Republicans in Ohio were attempting to explain away the charges of favoritism and jobbery and corruption in many branches of the National Government, the Panic of 1873 complicated their defense still further. Democrats, of course, made the Grant administration responsible for the collapse of the economic structure and the resulting period of depression. Liberal Republicans met in Columbus on July 30, 1873, with some Ohio Democrats to form a "People's Party" in order to serve the interests of the public welfare. It was declared that both major parties had outlived their usefulness and that a new organization was needed.

Although Buckeye financiers and economic observers had been uneasy at the fluctuations of the New York market and the change in the price of gold, they apparently were surprised when the crash came on September 18. At a few minutes past eleven that morning the banking house of Jay Cooke posted a notice that the firm "had been obliged to suspend payment" and asked their creditors for "patient consideration." The effect was electric upon Wall Street. The news was flashed over the wires of the stock and gold indicators and by one o'clock sidewalks of the Manhattan financial district were jammed with a "swaying, agitated, and excited" mass.²⁶

²⁴ *Cincinnati Commercial*, May 3, 1873.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1873.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1873.

The failure of Jay Cooke & Company was followed by the closing of other New York banks and investment houses. So complete, indeed, was the collapse that the New York Stock Exchange suspended operations for ten days. The reasons generally assigned for the depression were several. The Civil War had stimulated an overproduction of manufactured commodities and too great an increase in agricultural crops. In addition, the conflict had encouraged speculation in stocks and bonds and had resulted in an era of excessive railroad building. Jay Cooke had overreached himself in the purchase of Northern Pacific Railway securities. In addition, the firm of Fisk and Hatch was overloaded with Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad bonds. In 1875 Cooke offered Hayes his palatial summer home, "Gibraltar," with its furniture, library and boats, all of which the former financial wizard no longer could afford to keep.²⁷

During the first few days of the panic, the Cincinnati *Commercial*, an unusually astute journal, predicted that the financial interests of the Nation would not be too much deranged by the calamity. It thought that the direct effects in Ohio would not be serious and that, after the storm was weathered, the "commercial credit of the country" would "stand upon a more elevated and substantial basis than it has for a long time."²⁸

As a matter of fact, even while banks and manufacturing concerns were closing their doors in Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago and St. Louis and while a financier in Dubuque, Iowa, was committing suicide, Ohio market quotations in the non-security field were remarkably steady. Heavy sales were reported in standard cotton and woolen fabrics, and an active trade was reported in boots, shoes, hats and caps, hardware and cutlery. Groceries were active and firm, and whiskey advanced a cent a gallon with a fair demand at ninety-three cents.²⁹ Two months later it was said that the financial situation continued to improve in commercial cities and that there was a corresponding pick-up in the mercantile trade. "Cin-

²⁷ Jay Cooke to R. B. Hayes, Sandusky, June 1, 1875, Hayes MSS. (Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio).

²⁸ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Sept. 19, 20, 21, 1873.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1873.

cinnati banks are growing stronger," reported the *Commercial*, "and are enabled to extend their accommodations. Merchants report fair collections, with moderate sales."³⁰

By January, 1874, private capital again was seeking investment opportunities and there was some inquiry for money for speculative purposes.³¹ The Cincinnati *Gazette* at this time was able to speak of the panic as "fresh in our remembrance," which certainly indicated that the peak of the dislocation had been reached and passed.³² When the National Board of Trade met in Baltimore it seemed assured that business was returning to normalcy, but passed a resolution advocating that no government aid be extended by Congress to American railroads.³³ On the other hand, the New York *Tribune* spoke bitterly of "balloon prices" and predicted that "inevitable collapse" was the order of the day.³⁴

The depression was aggravated by a poor agricultural crop throughout the State in 1873 and by low wages and unemployment. In 1878, it was said that there was a large number of idle and able men throughout the State anxious to secure employment, and that in nearly every industry there was a decrease in employment over that of 1873. Of 22,650 employees in Ohio, only 11,442 worked fifty or more weeks.³⁵ On the other hand, the Panic of 1873 itself did not necessarily account for poverty among working classes. If the "great masses of the people had been in the condition that their years of toil and labor should have placed them in," said a commentator on labor, "the results of such a panic could only have been of a momentary character. Because of their poverty, however, the first mill or factory which closed paved the way for the closing or partial closing of hundreds and thousands of others."³⁶

The Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, commenting upon the

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1873.

³¹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 7, 1874.

³² Cincinnati *Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1874.

³³ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 17, 1874.

³⁴ Quoted in *Clinton Republican*, April 2, 1874.

³⁵ *Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Columbus), 1878, 10-11. Hereafter cited as *Ohio Labor Stat.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

depression and the iron industry in 1876, said that much good had come from the panic. "The pinch during the past four years has resulted in a great change in the nature of business. Thought has been stimulated to an extent which years of prosperity would not have secured, and it has resulted in improved machinery, a more systematic economy in the conduct of business, and an increased intelligence on the part of producers, which must be of permanent value."³⁷

The beginning of winter in 1873 drew attention to the poor and unemployed throughout the State. Observers noticed thinly-clad children upon the streets, found grates and stoves without fire and learned of tables without food. Police stations were crowded with men seeking warmth and shelter. At the First District Station in Cincinnati, for example, over half the men applying for lodging had never been compelled to seek such refuge previously and "up to the time of the bank panic were in good situations." It was said that honest, hard-working men and women were compelled to associate with the bummers and very dregs of the city.³⁸ By November, conditions became so bad that a citizens' relief meeting was held in Mozart Hall to devise ways and means of alleviating suffering. The meeting was attended by union officials as well as by city officers and public-spirited individuals.³⁹

The plans advocated for relieving suffering included employment of men by the city upon municipal projects, asking that employers maintain payrolls on a half-time schedule, and providing necessary supplies to the poor. Soup lines were established, coal distributed free, and clothing given to the needy. Charitable institutions were asked to sell a bowl of soup and a big "chunk" of bread for five cents.⁴⁰ Other cities throughout the State followed the same general relief plan.

As Ohio slowly worked itself out of the financial crisis, the State was troubled by internal political controversies. The Republicans

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1876, 311.

³⁸ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Oct. 22, 1873.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1873.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1873.

were attempting to make the best of a bad situation which involved charges against the Grant administration and which also placed upon them the responsibility for the Panic of 1873. The Democrats, on the other hand, were painting both the administration and the panic in vivid colors and were smearing their opponents at every opportunity. Even the Democrats, however, were not as pure as a lily for they were faced with the exposure of the famous Tweed Ring in New York. Both Republicans and Democrats had lost members to the new People's party. In addition, both parties were faced with the delicate temperance problem which was reaching a crescendo during the seventies. The Women's Temperance Crusade was not considered lightly by astute politicians.

Ohio Republicans, anxious to reelect Governor Edward Follensbee Noyes, entered the campaign of 1873 with trepidation. Noyes was not an Ohioan by birth, having been born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1832. After he was graduated from Dartmouth College, he went to Cincinnati where he studied law. When the Civil War broke out he received a commission in the Thirty-ninth Ohio Infantry and lost a foot during campaigns in Georgia. At the close of the conflict he returned to Cincinnati to practice law and became a probate judge in Hamilton County. In the Republican National Convention of 1876 Noyes made the speech nominating Hayes for the presidency. Later, he was appointed minister to France by President Hayes. The closing years of his life were spent practicing law in Cincinnati where he died suddenly on September 4, 1890.⁴¹

The administration of Noyes as governor in 1872-1874 has been described as undistinguished. Nevertheless Noyes took his responsibilities seriously. When, for example, striking railroad engineers in Miami County threatened to disrupt the peace, the Governor authorized the use of troops at Bradford Junction to aid civil authorities in maintaining law and order.⁴² When William Allen

⁴¹ Johnson, Allen and Malone, Dumas, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1937), XIII, 587. Hereafter cited as *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*

⁴² Edward F. Noyes to Gen. Daniel Weber, Columbus, Dec. 31, 1873, Executive Letter Book, 1873-1875 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library, Columbus), 45.

authorized the same action in 1874, he was charged with being a foe of the working man and with the illegal use of militiamen dispatched to the Hocking Valley district.⁴³ Noyes also gave grave attention to his pardon duties, investigating petitions for pardons carefully and responding to petitioners in a firm, yet kindly manner.⁴⁴

The Democrats, influenced by Allen G. Thurman, selected William Allen, a seventy-year-old politician for their candidate. Allen of Chillicothe was no amateur in the political ring. Born in North Carolina in 1806 he had emigrated to Chillicothe at the age of sixteen in search of a sister whom he had never seen. This woman was the mother of Senator Allen G. Thurman. Young Allen received a common school education and studied law in the office of Edward King, a son of the distinguished Rufus King of Revolutionary fame. Allen's fine figure and splendid voice plus a fondness for criminal law admitted him to practice by the time he was twenty-one. He then actively entered Democratic politics and was the youngest member in the House of the Twenty-third Congress. In 1837, at the age of thirty-one, he was elected to the United States Senate. In 1848, when bitter feeling arose between the friends of Cass and Van Buren in the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore, Allen was urged by some to consider the presidential nomination. He refused and retired to private life after supporting Cass.⁴⁵ Not until 1873, after a lapse of some twenty-five years, at the suggestion of Senator Thurman and the call of his party, did he emerge to run against Noyes. Governor Bishop described William Allen as one full of honor and of years.⁴⁶

Allen's qualifications satisfied his party in Ohio which "needed an old time Democrat who stood high in the party ranks" and who

⁴³ To the Miners of Ohio, Democratic Campaign Broadside, Laurence, Oct. 2, 1875 (Hayes Memorial Library).

⁴⁴ Edward F. Noyes to Sister Anthony, Dec. 16, 1873, Executive Letter Book, 1873-1875, p. 29; also pp. 37, 38, 41.

⁴⁵ Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events, 1879 (New York, 1889), 27-8. Hereafter cited as *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*.

⁴⁶ Richard M. Bishop to Dr. David H. Scott, Columbus, July 11, 1879, Telegram Book, 1878-1879 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 99.

was an orator and a man "whose honesty was without reproach."⁴⁷ The candidate became known as "Rise Up" Allen as the result of a bit of doggerel verse published in the Cincinnati *Commercial*:⁴⁸

"Come rise up William Allen and go along with me,
And I will make you Governor of Ohio's fair countrie."

Although Noyes opened his campaign on August 23 at Athens, "Rise Up" Allen held his fire until September when he opened his campaign in Columbus. It was not until early in October, however, that the fiery Allen with a voice like a fog horn made the speech which threw consternation into Republican ranks. He was talking in Cincinnati from the rostrum in Mozart Hall on October 2. "For many years," he said, "the people have felt that something was wrong with our national affairs; they have seen the government of the United States busying itself in making special laws for the benefit of corporations, cliques and rings scattered all over the face of the land while these general laws, required to be enacted were utterly neglected."⁴⁹

Then Allen lashed the Republican party. He charged that the Grant administration had increased taxes for no good reasons, had spent public money unwisely, and had placed the spending of public money in the hands of "politicians who did no fighting, who acted rather as carpet-baggers, to pick up the leavings of the lion." Defalcation, he declared, "is a soft word which means, in plain English, stealing." Here Allen, inflating his chest and elevating his voice, went on to mention the Salary Grab Act and other tender spots of the Republican administration. Then he turned his attention to Senator O. P. Morton, of Indiana, whom the Republicans had imported into Ohio to aid in their campaign and who had frequently made slighting reference to Allen's age. Morton, himself, was an invalid, and Allen took advantage of that infirmity to punish him verbally again and again. He spoke of Morton "hob-

⁴⁷ Reginald C. McGrane, *William Allen: A Study in Western Democracy* (Columbus, 1925), 187.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 196.

⁴⁹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Oct. 3, 1873.

bling" down to Wall Street into the poisoned atmosphere of gangs of gamblers, and he described the gentleman from Indiana as sitting in a wheelchair and fumbling for the manuscript of his speech. Allen concluded emphatically and in a most serious vein: "This government is not made to confer honor upon individuals. It was made to protect with an equal hand, all men, rich and poor; and this great people can not afford to see an example of negligence and corruption working out the ruin of the country by eating away that principle of truth and honesty on which all popular governments must be based."⁵⁰

About a week later, Senator Thurman in Cincinnati castigated the Republicans from both economic and financial angles. His speech was described as "a mixture of severity, irony, banter, and elevated scorn."⁵¹ After describing the condition of the country in general, Thurman asked what were the reasons for the financial crash. "No doubt the general cause that has produced it," he continued, "is that we have been living too fast on borrowed money; that we have been like the spendthrift heir, who mortgages his estate and spends the proceeds of his mortgage in fast and riotous living."⁵² He pointed out that the balance of trade had been against the United States for years and that the Nation had been paying its debts by borrowing money to pay them. He spoke cautiously of the principle of "instantaneous resumption" and warned against the idea that prosperity naturally would follow resumption of specie payment. "I do not believe," he said, "that the business of the country can ever be carried on with an irredeemable paper currency," but he indicated that it might be wise to delay action along those lines.⁵³

Although the Cincinnati *Commercial* described Thurman's speech as "thrilling," it insisted that "Democratic speakers are striving to take advantage of the financial panic and pinch for a purely partisan purpose," and that nothing more was offered than criti-

⁵⁰ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Oct. 3, 1873.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1873.

⁵² *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Oct. 9, 1873.

⁵³ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Oct. 9, 1873.

cisms and denunciations.⁵⁴ Ohio Republicans, supporting Noyes, felt exactly as did the *Commercial*, but as election time drew nearer, it was predicted that, not only in Ohio but in the Nation, Democrats would enjoy victories.

Such a forecast proved truer than many Republicans would have admitted even to themselves. In Ohio, Allen's majority over Noyes was 817 votes, and Democrats returned a majority in both houses of the legislature. On the other hand, Republicans captured all the State offices with the exception of the governorship. For the first time since the Civil War, a Democratic governor was taking office in the Buckeye State. Other states also had forsaken Republican principles and had elected Democratic governors. Among these were Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin. New York which had given Grant its full support in 1872 now elected Democratic state officers. Much the same situation developed in Virginia.

The elections were described as a "severe lesson" to the "great and powerful" Republican party. "No party," said the Cincinnati *Commercial*, "can hope to live or hold permanently the reins of power in this country which disregards in its official life the great cardinal virtues of honesty, economy and fidelity."⁵⁵ Doggerel verse suggested that Republicans who had struck it rich during the Grant regime should now retire to the country and harden their hands.⁵⁶

"Once I was in the railroad ring,
But now my hands are hard with toil;
I've scattered hay-seed in my hair,
And blacked my boots with harness-oil."

Early in January, 1874, Columbus was agog with preparations for the arrival of Governor Allen who had reserved a suite at the Neil House. The city was crowded with Democratic office-seekers anxious to capitalize upon their political good fortune. One par-

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1873.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1873.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1873.

ticularly shabby chap, anxious to secure a clerk's job, was described as looking "as if he had come to the city as baggage and had been thrown around rather carelessly on the train," and his coat was said to have looked as if it had been struck by the panic.⁵⁷ Caucus proceedings kept politicians busy and journalists vainly attempted to gain knowledge of what was transpiring behind the scenes.⁵⁸

By January 12 every hotel in Columbus was filled to overflowing and restaurant keepers were making arrangements to handle record crowds. The prevalent feeling was one of gaiety and good humor.⁵⁹ All was ready for Allen's inauguration which took place on the east terrace of the Capitol early in the afternoon. "Rise Up" Allen spoke briefly, forcibly and in excellent taste. He spoke of the necessity of reducing existing taxes and cutting State expenses and commented upon the depressing influence of the panic. "In the prodigality of the past," he said, "you will find abundant reason for frugality in the future."⁶⁰ He made no specific recommendations, but indicated that he would submit suggestions at a later time. He was generous in his attitude toward his predecessor, Noyes. Certainly, Hayes could not have described this speech, as he did another, as queer and old-fashioned.⁶¹ The Cincinnati *Enquirer* said that the only thing the Democrats needed was to be honest and even the Cincinnati *Commercial* admitted that there were some "good words" in the address. The *Gazette* said shortly: "The next nomination is now in order."⁶²

Governor Allen took his duties seriously. He rose early in the morning, breakfasted with his family and was in the executive offices about nine-thirty. Official documents received his personal attention, and he dispatched State business promptly and efficiently.⁶³ In December, 1874, Allen submitted a message which

⁵⁷ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 3, 1874; Cincinnati *Commercial*, Jan. 3, 1874.

⁵⁸ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Jan. 5, 1874.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1874.

⁶⁰ Ohio Executive Documents. *Annual Reports* (Columbus, 1836-), for 1873, I, 416. Hereafter cited as *Ohio Exec. Doc.*

⁶¹ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 259.

⁶² Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 13; Cincinnati *Commercial*, Jan. 13; Cincinnati *Gazette*, Jan. 14, 1874.

⁶³ McGrane, *William Allen*, 209-10.

clearly showed that the Governor had studied State conditions at first hand.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the legislature, true to Allen's recommendations, was reducing State expenditures. More than \$400,000 was saved over the Republican estimate in 1874, and the tax levy was reduced a little over three mills with a resultant saving to the people of more than a million dollars.

In addition to economy in State and county administrations, the Allen administration interested itself in the regulation and ventilation of mines,⁶⁵ used the State militia to quell disorders growing out of disputes between railroad officials and employees in Tuscarawas and Miami counties and was ready to dispatch troops into the Hocking Valley in June, 1874, when trouble developed between coal operators and miners.⁶⁶ In fact, Allen so conducted the business of the State in a safe, sound and conservative manner that his administration began to attract national attention and he seemed to grow in favor with his constituents and his party.⁶⁷ He might have moved on, despite his age, to play an even more distinguished part in Democratic politics had he not run afoul of the perplexing green-back problem which puzzled the Nation, irritated politicians and finally resulted in a campaign of abuse. As it was, Allen, an ardent champion of inflation, met his match in Rutherford B. Hayes who carried the banner for both Republicans and resumption. Although Allen was renominated in 1875 by Ohio Democrats, he was defeated by more than five thousand votes. In the following year he retired from active political service. He died June 11, 1879, at his home in Chillicothe.

Ohio's political waters were muddied and kept in turmoil not only by the growing controversy over inflation and resumption, but also by the growing temperance movement. This remarkable agitation developed in Hillsboro late in 1873 and was known as the Women's Temperance Crusade. Within a short time the enthusiasm was caught up by women over the State who openly proclaimed

⁶⁴ *Ohio Exec. Doc., 1874*, I, 3-12.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 793-6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 334-5.

⁶⁷ McGrane, *William Allen*, 216.

that the only way to end the liquor traffic was to solicit personally those engaged in it. Women paraded through streets, prayed at the doors of saloons, drugstores and hotels, and gathered in churches to invoke the aid of the Almighty in their dramatic crusade against the evils of rum.

Columns of small-town newspapers were filled with comment upon the evils of drinking and with verses vividly painting the effects of strong drink:

“Pimple-maker, visage-bloater,
Health-corrupter, idler’s mate,
Mischief-maker, vice-promoter,
Credit-spoiler, devil’s bait.”⁶⁸

“The jail recently has had quite a number of Bacchanalian recruits,” mourned the same journal. “Can nothing be done to stay the march of intemperance and dram selling in Wilmington?” The reply was startling. For three days, women of Wilmington marched through rain, sleet and hail to the doors of local liquor stores where they besieged proprietors and saloon-keepers with prayers and hymns.

Druggists and dealers were forced to sign pledges after appeal had been made in the “name of desolated homes, blasted hopes, ruined lives, and widowed hearts.”⁶⁹ At Washington Court House and elsewhere similar demonstrations occurred. The *Clinton Republican*, however, was skeptical of this type of action and suggested that prohibitionists might fail unless they could agree on a united plan of action.⁷⁰ The Clinton County Temperance Association, however, worked valiantly to curb the evil by petitioning legislators and advocating stringent prohibition legislation.⁷¹

A writer in the Cincinnati *Commercial* struck an ugly note when he observed that it is possible that temperance people “think more about gaining political influence than about saving the souls of

⁶⁸ *Wilmington Journal*, Dec. 25, 1873.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1874.

⁷⁰ *Clinton Republican*, Sept. 25, 1873.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1874.

dying drunkards.”⁷² Other editors spoke of the women’s crusade with caution, but with their tongues in their cheeks. Women when backed by religious zeal, commented the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, are simply irresistible.⁷³ The Avondale Buttermilk Dairy of Cincinnati capitalized upon the prevailing anti-alcoholic sentiment on New Year’s Day by costuming its employees in dress suits, placing them in gaily-decorated wagons, and giving them signs to distribute which read:

“Our New Year’s calls are not for lunch,
Wine, whisky or hot punch—
Our object is friendship and fun,
And of anything but buttermilk we partake none.”⁷⁴

In Springfield, mass meetings led by women were largely attended.⁷⁵ So intense, indeed, did such demonstrations become in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati that local ordinances were passed on the grounds that temperance parades were obstructing traffic. In Hamilton, Dayton, Washington Court House, Wilmington and Clarksville, however, the campaign continued. “May the tidal wave roll on,” wrote a rural correspondent, “until every city, town, and hamlet in the State is engulfed and washed clean from the stain that is now resting upon them.”⁷⁶

If at times the fight became bitter and irate saloon-keepers drenched praying reformers with beer as occurred in New Vienna, the crusaders valiantly stood their ground.⁷⁷ By the end of January, 1874, the movement had spread to Indiana where the “Woman’s Whisky War” was inaugurated in Shelbyville with “courage, resolution, and independence.”⁷⁸ In Morrow, Ohio, several taverns, among them the “Blue Goose,” “Farmers’ Rest” and “Grangers’ Roost,” were picketed, and in New Lexington, determined females

⁷² *Cincinnati Commercial*, Oct. 19, 1873.

⁷³ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 2, 1874.

⁷⁴ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 2, 1874.

⁷⁵ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1874.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1874.

⁷⁷ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 17, 1874.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1874.

penetrated the lower town "where Erin-go-Bragh holds undisputed sway" and were received cordially, but noncommittally by the Irish inhabitants.⁷⁹

When Cincinnati women protested against regulations prohibiting them from blocking streets and sidewalks in their ardent campaign against intoxicating beverages, the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, quiet and friendly for weeks, broke the peace. It bluntly said that women should pray in churches and not upon sidewalks or in beer saloons. It characterized the campaign as sinking to the gratification of malevolence and personal hate.⁸⁰ When rowdies attempted to interfere with a temperance street-meeting and nearly provoked a riot, public opinion began to realize that the Women's Temperance Crusade might be more than the harmless activities of zealots.⁸¹

Politicians began to take cognizance of the movement. Mills Gardner, a member of the Constitutional Convention appeared with the women on the streets, as did C. W. Rowland and E. D. Mansfield. The most powerful weapon the crusaders had, however, was publicity, and the public soon tired of their repertoire. In addition, rum dispensers were learning to shut their ears to the din outside their front doors and to peddle whiskey through the back door. In Hamilton, the temperance league labored long at the Sortman grocery, but were forced to leave without a signed pledge. As a matter of fact, the number of liquor licenses issued to dealers in Butler County was not diminished as the result of the crusade. Even the dealers who had been forced out of business continued to sell alcohol from secluded tenement apartments or the rear of a wagon-shop. A reporter probably was correct when he wrote that the more the street praying is carried on, the more stimulants are consumed.⁸²

Such intense hysteria, moreover, could not be maintained at fever-heat for a prolonged period of time. By the middle of summer, the campaign was on the decline. In Osborn, after nine weeks of

⁷⁹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 31, 1874.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1874.

⁸¹ Cincinnati *Gazette*, May 1, 1874.

⁸² Cincinnati *Commercial*, May 2, 1874.

street singing, the Woman's Temperance League ceased its activities upon order from the mayor.⁸³ At about the same time, the Constitutional Convention submitted its first proposition dealing with a license system and asked the people to pass judgment upon it. It will be remembered that this proposition, like the proposed constitution, was rejected at the polls later in the year. The *Cincinnati Gazette*, like some other papers throughout the State, frowned upon the temperance crusade and the license system. It came out for free trade in spirituous liquors and said that a license law could not be enforced. "The obstacle," it said, "which makes the enforcement of prohibitory laws impossible is, that most people do not think it a sin to drink any one, or, at least, some one, of the intoxicating liquors, cider, beer, wine, or strong liquors, in moderation. They do not believe that legislation can make it a sin."⁸⁴

Then, too, politicians like Hayes were worried that the State liquor agitation would alienate the Ohio German population from any party which might be sufficiently bold to curtail its beer.⁸⁵ An indignant citizen writing to a newspaper indicated another reason why the temperance crusade had failed. He said that a license system or a free trade policy was not a matter for the voters of the State to decide, but was squarely up to the legislature to solve. His view was shared by thousands of others.⁸⁶ By late summer, the crusade had died and the people had rejected the license system. Yet the colorful and dramatic work of Ohio women remained in the minds of politicians to plague them with thoughts of what might happen if the same issue should again be brought to public attention. Meanwhile, of course, there appeared on the economic horizon the greenback controversy.

This financial controversy was one of the many problems occasioned by Civil War financing and was not new to either Ohio Republicans or Democrats. In 1868, an "Ohio Idea" sponsored by Samuel F. Cary was written into the national Democratic platform

⁸³ *Cincinnati Gazette*, May 2, 1874.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 201.

⁸⁶ *Cincinnati Gazette*, May 4, 1874.

and called for the payment of government bonds, when gold was not specified in the bond, in new issues of greenbacks, or paper money. It was believed by George H. Pendleton, Cary and other Democrats that such action would aid in reducing debts, lowering taxes and would, all things considered, give bondholders a currency which was stable and fair to all parties concerned. Ohio Democrats in their State convention of 1868 held that this policy could be "accomplished without any undue or dangerous increase of paper money, now the only circulating medium, thus relieving our people from the burden of a debt, the tendency of which is always to corrupt and enslave, and our Government from the reproach of paying a favored class in gold, while discharging its debts to all others, including pensions to widows and soldiers, in an inferior currency."⁸⁷

Even the Republicans in their State platform for 1868 advocated the payment of the five-twenty bonds "in the currency of the country which may be a legal tender when the Government shall be prepared to redeem such bonds."⁸⁸ The passage of the Specie Resumption Act of 1875, however, made it mandatory for Republicans to support a hard currency and to oppose payment of bonds in paper currency. So intense was the opposition to the principle of resumption that a third party calling itself the Independent National party formulated a platform in 1876 which demanded the repeal of the Specie Resumption Act, asked that the government issue legal-tender notes which could be converted into low-interest-bearing bonds, and suggested that the United States no longer sell gold bonds in foreign markets.

In Ohio, the passage of the Act of 1875 provoked a variety of reactions and led to the dramatic battle between Hayes and Allen in 1875 for the governorship. It also was to place Hayes before the Nation as a candidate for the presidency.

When Ohio Republicans canvassed the State to find a strong opponent who could break Allen's control, their thoughts had

⁸⁷ *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia, 1868* (New York, 1871), 603.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 604.

turned to Rutherford B. Hayes. Hayes's name was being mentioned early in 1875 and by March politicians were concerned whether or not the ex-governor was interested.⁸⁹ The Fremont politician learned that slowly, but surely, a strong current toward his nomination was sweeping Ohio.⁹⁰ It was believed that he could receive the nomination with but little opposition, and his friends were sincere in urging him to accept if the honor should come to him.⁹¹ Dr. P. M. Wagenhals and James M. Comly, both of Columbus, advanced the most enticing arguments in an attempt to force Hayes to commit himself. If the Republican party is to be successful, wrote Wagenhals, "it must have a candidate who will command the undivided support of those who have stood by the colors as well as recall the lukewarm and disaffected again to renewed devotion to the principles which have covered our arms with splendor and given us a united country." If Ohio, he continued, should elect a good, true man, it was entirely possible that the next president would be a Republican.⁹²

Comly, Columbus postmaster and editor, wrote Hayes that "everybody" wanted him to accept the nomination, assured him that he could make a brilliant campaign, predicted that he would be elected by a sweeping majority, and said he would be the most prominent and exceptional candidate for president in 1876.⁹³ From Ironton, M. H. Enoch predicted the same thing: let Hayes carry the State and he would carry the Nation in 1876.⁹⁴ From the office of the Columbus and Xenia Railroad Company came word that Hayes could receive a unanimous nomination if only his friends could be assured that he would not decline it.⁹⁵ From former Civil War comrades came assurances that they would support him to their utmost.⁹⁶ Even those, who thought the battle in the State convention

⁸⁹ H. W. Curtis to R. B. Hayes, Columbus, Mar. 23, 1875, Hayes MSS.

⁹⁰ Robert Kennedy to *id.*, Bellefontaine, Mar. 29, 1875, *ibid.*

⁹¹ Gen. J. R. Sherwood to *id.*, Columbus, Mar. 30, 1875, *ibid.*

⁹² Dr. P. M. Wagenhals to *id.*, Columbus, Mar. 31, 1875, *ibid.*

⁹³ James M. Comly to *id.*, Columbus, Apr. 4, 1875, *ibid.*

⁹⁴ Gen. M. H. Enoch to *id.*, Ironton, Apr. 1, 1875, *ibid.*

⁹⁵ Robt. S. Smith to *id.*, Columbus, Apr. 1, 1875, *ibid.*

⁹⁶ William V. Lyon to *id.*, Newark, Apr. 10, 1875, *ibid.*

might be severe and the campaign hard, felt that Hayes would be successful.⁹⁷

To all of these requests and to his encouraging friends, Hayes let it be known that he was undecided. He needed to be wooed. When Comly wrote him in enthusiastic terms, Hayes apparently answered him curtly indicating that "officious" action in his behalf by persons who auctioned-off his fine points was not appreciated.⁹⁸ Finally, the delegates from Licking County wrote Hayes that unless they had a positive refusal from him they would use his name at the June convention of the Republican party in Columbus.⁹⁹ Hayes did not decline, but neither did he give the impression to any but a few intimate managers that he would accept if he actually were nominated. He probably knew as well as anyone else in the State that he alone had sufficient strength to carry Republican standards to victory, but perhaps he considered it good political strategy to be coy despite the fact that his daily mail was urging him to announce himself as Republican candidate for the governorship of the Buckeye State.¹⁰⁰

On May 10, the State Republican Committee, headed by A. T. Wikoff, issued a printed circular outlining an organization for each county in order to bring out a full vote. Five days later, the Toledo *Commercial*, a strong Republican paper, strongly urged Hayes's candidacy editorially. Yet when the convention met in Columbus on June 1, Hayes had not committed himself and was receiving frantic telegrams telling him he must not decline the nomination if he received it.¹⁰¹ The strength of Judge Alphonso Taft, Hayes's Republican opponent from Cincinnati, was seen when a telegram advised Hayes that seven-eighths of the delegates were pledged to him, indicated that he would be nominated by acclamation, and urged him to "keep still."¹⁰² He was cautioned further to send no answers to political dispatches from Columbus and not to allow a "wet

⁹⁷ W. D. Brickham to *id.*, Dayton, Apr. 12, 1875, *ibid.*

⁹⁸ J. M. Comly to *id.*, Columbus, Apr. 10, 14, 20, 1875, *ibid.*

⁹⁹ W. C. Logan to *id.*, Newark, May 27, 1875, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ H. S. Bundy to *id.*, Wellston, May 7, 1875, *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ A. C. Sands to *id.*, Columbus, June 1, 1875, *ibid.*

¹⁰² W. H. West *et al.* to *id.*, Columbus, June 1, 1875, *ibid.*

blanket" to be thrown over his supporters by refusing the nomination.¹⁰³

That Hayes for many weeks did not want the nomination and particularly did not wish a contest with Judge Taft cannot be doubted. He had told both Richard Smith and Charles Foster that he did not want the nomination in opposition to Taft, and he said that he persisted in declining to the last. There were excellent reasons why Hayes was unenthusiastic about the nomination: the Allen administration based upon tax reductions and public economies was far from unpopular; no man had ever been chosen in Ohio to serve three terms as governor; the Grant administration had brought no great credit to the national Republican party, and Hayes was perfectly aware of innumerable problems which must face him if he won the nomination and were elected. He feared the "Butlerism of the Administration" and earnestly desired a period of personal freedom after years of public service.¹⁰⁴ On the eve of the Columbus convention Hayes made an entry in his diary which indicated that he would accept the nomination if Taft and others should withdraw and if the convention insisted upon his candidacy.¹⁰⁵

Either Hayes was unaware of the tremendous support given his cause, which hardly seems likely as he was in constant communication with observers who assured him that he was the only candidate who could carry the convention, or he preferred to keep faith with Taft—knowing that the judge could not get the nomination—until Taft of his own accord capitulated. Then Hayes could carry the convention with a clear conscience and with the full realization that he had been drafted and had not on the record broken faith with Taft. Hayes must have realized, however, that the chances of Taft's persisting in keeping his name before the Columbus convention in the face of the immense Hayes support were slight in-

¹⁰³ R. M. Stimson to *id.*, Columbus, June 1, 1875, *ibid.*; P. M. Wagenhals to *id.*, Columbus, June 1, 1875, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Charles R. Williams, *Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Columbus, 1928), I, 382, 383.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 384.

deed. When Hayes, who followed the convention proceedings closely by telegraph, received news that his nomination was assured by a vote of 396 for Hayes and 151 for Taft, he wrote in his diary that Charles P. Taft had moved his nomination by acclamation and that in the light of Judge Alphonso Taft's record "his nomination was impossible."¹⁰⁶

Six days after Hayes's nomination the first Hayes Club was organized and Hayes himself, aided by members of the Republican State Committee, began to lay definite campaign plans.¹⁰⁷ Hayes's strategy was guided by a number of individuals who submitted long and detailed memoranda for his consideration. He was urged to concentrate upon a thorough and complete showing-up of Allen's administration and the work of the last Democratic legislature; he was told that the Catholic question was especially important in the Western Reserve; and he was informed that Allen should be taken to task for overthrowing all State institutions in the sense that he made political appointments.¹⁰⁸ Judge Taft wrote Hayes a private note in which he offered to make a few speeches for the candidate and in which he said further that he was glad he had escaped the nomination.¹⁰⁹ On June 12, the Republican State Committee issued a statement saying that the "office has sought the man" and urged that Hayes clubs be formed throughout the State and that all possible support be given the candidate in order that "so good a man is not slaughtered." Hayes gave careful thought to his campaign platform and received sound advice from Ohio Republicans.

In general, Hayes was urged to sidestep the temperance issue in order to swing the German vote, to soft pedal tariff discussions as people did not seem interested, to be cautious of the Catholic question even though "Romanists" "have thrust themselves" into State politics, to challenge the Democrats on their record, and to press Republican financial views boldly and aggressively against the

¹⁰⁶ N. Field to R. B. Hayes, Columbus, June 2, 1875, Hayes MSS.; Williams, *Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, 384-5.

¹⁰⁷ P. M. Wagenhals to *id.*, Columbus, June 8, 1875, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Thomas E. Wildes to *id.*, Akron, June 8, 1875, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Alphonso Taft to *id.*, Cincinnati, June 12, 1875, *ibid.*



2. IRISH AND GERMANS ASSERT THEIR RIGHTS

Harper's Weekly, Apr. 14, 1877.

"wretched and dishonest schemes of Democracy."¹¹⁰ By late June and early July Hayes had planned to address mass meetings in eleven counties, had received an invitation to address the colored Republicans of Ross and adjoining counties and had scheduled Judge Taft for an address in Marietta.¹¹¹ Upon one occasion Hayes

¹¹⁰ W. G. Hubbard *et al.* to *id.*, New Vienna, June 12, 1875, *ibid.*; R. M. Stimson to *id.*, Marietta, June 14, 1875, *ibid.*; Jas. A. Garfield to *id.*, Washington, D. C., June 24, 1875, *ibid.*; J. C. Donaldson to *id.*, Columbus, June 26, 1875, *ibid.*

¹¹¹ A. T. Wikoff to *id.*, Columbus, June 26, 1875, *ibid.*; John F. James to *id.*, Chillicothe, July 2, 1875, *ibid.*; A. T. Wikoff to *id.*, Columbus, July 16, 1875, *ibid.*

received a schedule from the Republican State Committee calling for twelve speeches in eleven days.¹¹² Another schedule announced seven meetings and still another, toward the close of the campaign, listed twenty-six speaking engagements between September 7 and October 9.¹¹³

Hayes received information regarding State statistics with particular reference to taxation and property values from Geo. K. Nash, and he was aided on the stump by "Calico Charlie" Foster who knew Ohio political ropes thoroughly.¹¹⁴ Despite all assistance Hayes was unable to accept the many invitations extended him by Republican clubs and organizations. In Cincinnati, S. F. Covington, historian and collector, invited the candidate to address a Hayes club in a ward that was Democratic.¹¹⁵ By the middle of September competent political observers felt that the "dead point of danger" of the campaign had passed and it was too late for the Democrats to do anything. "Rise Up" Allen was declared doomed because the liberals of the State were backing Hayes, because more Germans were turning to the Republican standard, and because the prohibition vote was being reduced.¹¹⁶

Hayes looked upon a "permanently irredeemable" currency as both unsafe and unstable.¹¹⁷ Allen held that resumption of specie payments "by a retrospective act that embraces all existing contracts would be an outrage, an infamy, and an absolute impossibility short of revolution."¹¹⁸ Thurman in a speech at Mansfield straddled the fence in his attempt to show that Ohio Democrats neither stood for inflation nor opposed resumption.¹¹⁹ He was roundly criticized on all sides as a result. Republicans, sensing that victory was within their grasp, invited Carl Schurz, distinguished reformer, to stump

¹¹² A. T. Wikoff to *id.*, Columbus, July 21, 1875, *ibid.*

¹¹³ J. C. Donaldson to *id.*, Columbus, Aug. 18, 1875, *ibid.*; *id.* to *id.*, Columbus, Aug. 21, 1875, *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Geo. K. Nash to *id.*, Columbus, July 24, 1875, *ibid.*; Charles Foster to *id.*, Fostoria, July 22, 29, 1875, *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ S. F. Covington to *id.*, Cincinnati, Sept. 6, 1875, *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ R. M. Stimson to *id.*, Marietta, Sept. 24, 1875, *ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 283.

¹¹⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, July 22, 1875.

¹¹⁹ McGrane, *William Allen*, 240.

the State in support of their position. Schurz delivered addresses both in English and in German.

Newspapers, already excited over the greenback controversy, were publishing pungent comments long before Schurz's lecture tour was announced. The Cincinnati *Gazette* defined the popular term "rag money" as follows: "Not the greenbacks issued to enable the nation to put down Democratic secession; not the greenbacks which Republican faith sustained when the Democratic party tried every means to discredit them, are meant by the term rag money; but the greenbacks which Democratic quacks propose to make by abandoning the promise of payment, and by a new and unlimited emission in time of peace, for no other purpose than to depreciate them. The money which is to be inflated in order to debase it, is what is called rag money."¹²⁰

The Cincinnati *Enquirer* said editorially that the tide "is setting stronger than ever for the cause of Democracy in this State" and printed columns purporting to demonstrate the true results of "the terrible consequences of the resumption of specie payments without a proper adjustment of the relations between debtor and creditor."¹²¹ The Cincinnati *Commercial* cleverly injected both racial and religious prejudices into the financial campaign by printing long reports of Negro political rallies. At one of these, J. Sella Martin, a colored speaker from New Orleans, rang the changes on the theme of freedom, accused Democrats of being the enemy of Negroes, and charged that a "Democratic-Catholic alliance is full of danger to Republican institutions."¹²² Martin had reference, of course, to the proposed Geghan Bill which provided for equal advantages for religious worship for persons of all denominations in public jails and asylums. This was interpreted to mean favoritism on the part of the Democrats to the Catholics. The Boston *Pilot* sensibly surveyed the religious complexion of the Ohio campaign. It advocated caution and reason rather than the use of temper and

¹²⁰ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1875.

¹²¹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Sept. 6, 1875.

¹²² Cincinnati *Commercial*, Sept. 7, 1875.

billingsgate. "Americans," said this Catholic journal, "may not like our ideas on many subjects, but they always respect men who advocate their ideas by sound and earnest arguments in a firm, respectful and determined manner."¹²³

The rural vote was courted assiduously by both parties. It was said that under Republican administrations, the farmer was protected by a safe and stable currency, by a tariff which shielded both farmer and laborer, and by a school system untouched by the destroying hand of sectarianism. It was maintained that the Democrats proposed to open doors to wild speculation, to reduce the price of labor by reducing the tariff, and to "make it doubtful whether the free public school or the Roman Catholic school shall prevail."¹²⁴

Such was the temper of the State when Carl Schurz arrived from Europe on September 14 and left for Ohio to speak in behalf of Republican principles, that his arrival occasioned the greatest excitement. At Mansfield, Springfield, Eaton, Ripley, Xenia, Bucyrus and on the Western Reserve, rallies and political meetings were in full swing. Democrats and Republicans were interested in learning just how Schurz would handle the money question. The great stallion races at Boston and the defeat of the St. Louis Red Stockings by the Covington Stars were not as fascinating as the national game of politics being played on Ohio's stage. In Dayton, a Hayes club was formed, and in Clinton it was reported that Democratic "ruffians" broke up a Negro Republican barbecue.

At Portsmouth where Barnum's circus was showing, a Republican parade and rally were declared a farce.¹²⁵ At Gallipolis, Republican marshals, resplendent in red and blue sashes, led a parade of about ninety wagons. The fete, wrote a correspondent, was far greater in its incipiency than in its realization. Cleveland Republicans, thousands strong, stood for over two hours in Monumental Park to hear addresses by Hayes and Noyes. Transparencies carried through the streets showed "Hayes and Free Schools,"

¹²³ Boston *Pilot* quoted *ibid.*

¹²⁴ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1875.

¹²⁵ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Sept. 15, 1875.



3. ANTI-CATHOLIC CARTOON RIDICULING THE GEGHAN BILL
Harper's Weekly, Aug. 28, 1875.

"The Book Before the Priest," and "No Geghan Bill for Us."¹²⁶

When Schurz arrived in Cincinnati to deliver an address at Turner Hall on September 27, he was characterized as possessing a keen insight into affairs and a clear sense of public duty.¹²⁷ The Cincinnati *Enquirer* taunted him with carrying the German vote

¹²⁶ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Sept. 16, 1875.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1875.

of the United States in his breeches pocket and intimated that Republicans were paying him \$10,000 for his Ohio speeches.¹²⁸ Schurz wisely made no answer to Democratic charges that he was conspiring to deliver the German vote to the party of banks and monopolies. About two thousand persons, however, heard him explain the evils of inflation and destroy many of Allen's financial arguments. He spoke of inflationist ideas as "absurd and childish" theories and said that inflation would only mean a "day of jubilee" among thieves and rascals. He appealed to farmers, small tradesmen and laboring men. "Will you really permit the world to think you so weak-minded as to believe that the increase of paper money would be equivalent to a Government officer going round the country with a large bag full of greenbacks to put some into the hands of every one who wants them?" He said that greenbacks and inflation would only mean another panic and would result in a national emergency.¹²⁹

Schurz's address made a profound impression not only upon the many Germans who had gathered to hear him, but also among hundreds of others who respected his judgment. His language was described as "lucid, persuasive, and commanding" and his speech one of which every line should be read. The Cincinnati *Enquirer*, hard-headed as usual, dismissed it as not amounting to much.¹³⁰ The chairman of the Republican State Committee gave Schurz much of the credit for the final triumph of Hayes over Allen and of resumption over inflation.¹³¹ In 1876, Hayes wrote Schurz praising his speeches.¹³²

Election day, October 12, was beautiful at Spiegel Grove, Hayes's home at Fremont, and although Hayes wrote that he was indifferent as to the outcome of the campaign, the State was up early and was greatly excited.¹³³ "In Hayes we trust, in Allen we bust," thundered an enthusiastic Cincinnati editor, and Democrats were encouraged

¹²⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Sept. 22, 1875.

¹²⁹ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Sept. 28, 1875.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 28; Cincinnati *Gazette*, Sept. 28; Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Sept. 28, 1875.

¹³¹ McGrane, *William Allen*, 245.

¹³² Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 352.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, III, 295.

by the sentiment, "Ohio expects every man to do his duty today."¹³⁴ The Chicago *Times* said that the elections were of enormous importance to every person who lives or has anything to lose in this country. The Louisville *Courier-Journal* indicated that Ohio Democratic "marplots and quacks" scuttled the ship which bore the fortunes of the Allen party.¹³⁵ Thousands of citizens went to the polls throughout the State to cast one of the largest votes ever recorded up to that time in the commonwealth.

Hayes carried the election by 5,544 votes. "Now then," said the pleased Cincinnati *Commercial*, "confidence will abound, and we can have good times in earnest, with honest money for a basis."¹³⁶ The Cincinnati *Gazette* rejoiced that the inflation bubble had burst, that the "rag baby" had died, and that Allen would not be considered for the presidency.¹³⁷ The *Enquirer* admitted with sorrow that "the brave Democratic party of Ohio, maligned, falsified and betrayed, has gone down in defeat before the organized Money Power of the land."¹³⁸ Other newspapers throughout the State interpreted the returns according to their political complexions. The usual charges of interference at the polls, of fraud, of improperly worded platforms, and poorly managed campaigning were made.¹³⁹

The election, however, meant more than the defeat of Allen and the triumph of Hayes. It was even more than a Republican victory over the Democratic party. For one thing, it indicated the possibility of Hayes as a presidential candidate. For another, it settled the greenback controversy in Ohio for a short period, although the issue was not to become insignificant until after the election of 1879. It demonstrated certain other trends also. The Democratic party seemed unable to win the votes of farmers and laboring men by its advocacy of the inflation idea. Thurman's juggling of the issue

¹³⁴ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Oct. 12; Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Oct. 12, 1875.

¹³⁵ Chicago *Times* and Louisville *Courier-Journal* quoted in Cincinnati *Commercial*, Oct. 13, 1875.

¹³⁶ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Oct. 13, 1875.

¹³⁷ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1875.

¹³⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Oct. 13, 1875.

¹³⁹ Forrest W. Clonts, "The Political Campaign of 1875 in Ohio," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (Columbus), XXXI (1922), 87. Hereafter cited as *O. S. A. H. Quar.*

probably contributed to this impression. Again, it was beginning to be apparent that all the discontented elements of the Nation would have to consolidate themselves into a strong party before they hoped to effect financial reform.¹⁴⁰

When Hayes journeyed to Columbus to be inaugurated as governor on January 10, 1876, he repeated an oath which he had taken twice previously, since he had held this important office from 1868 to 1872. A military procession moved through the streets on the cold, but bright, day. Hayes rode in a carriage with Governor Allen who had aged, but was full of life and cheerful.¹⁴¹ In his inaugural address, Hayes dwelt upon the rapid increase in municipal and local expenditures; said that "in cities large debts and bad government go together"; suggested wise and just treatment of criminals confined in State institutions; recommended that the State Board of Charities be reestablished; preached economy in general; and concluded by saying, "Let your session be short—avoid all schemes requiring excessive expenditure, whether State or local, and your constituents will cheerfully approve the appropriation required to secure to Ohio a fitting representation in the approaching celebration of the Nation's birth."¹⁴² Hayes's third term as governor was unmarked by distinctive legislative action, although the Geghan Bill was repealed. The office of comptroller of the treasury was abolished, as were other acts limiting the taxing powers of municipal corporations.

Hayes was described by a political correspondent as possessing the deep-seated confidence of the people of Ohio. It was said that Republican politicians of Ohio were more nearly united upon Hayes for president than they had ever been previously.¹⁴³ As a matter of fact, a movement was already under way to secure Hayes's nomination for president at the Republican National Convention of 1876. In May, H. S. Noyes characterized the type of man who

¹⁴⁰ R. C. McGrane, "Ohio and the Greenback Movement," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa), XI (1924-1925), 542. Hereafter cited as *M. V. H. Rev.*

¹⁴¹ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 299.

¹⁴² *Cincinnati Gazette*, Jan. 11, 1876.

¹⁴³ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 12, 1876.

would be drafted to lead the Republicans to victory. "At the Convention some man identified with the great Mississippi Valley and the West, of sterling character and ability, a good war record—and in sympathy with the people, whose sentiments on the subject of good money, free schools, political morality and civil reform, are not merely expressed, but acted upon and known to everybody, who has not been mixed with the corruptions and jealousies festering in Washington, will be selected and all Republicans will be satisfied and will join in electing him."¹⁴⁴

A year previously Hayes had indicated that the possibility of his securing the nomination had been brought to his attention in a multitude of ways.¹⁴⁵ Meanwhile, however, Hayes entered upon his duties as governor. He was not too occupied, however, to prevent his keeping a watchful eye upon national politics. Republican newspapers throughout the State were mentioning his name with enthusiasm, and Hayes finally entrusted his political fortunes to two astute campaigners—Edward F. Noyes and Stanley Matthews. They knew they were faced with determined Democratic resistance and conducted themselves like seasoned veterans.

It was well known that Grant was not a candidate for reelection, and it was not long before Republicans other than Hayes were casting their eyes toward the nomination and exerting their wiles in order to try to obtain it. Among the competitors of Hayes were James G. Blaine and Roscoe Conkling. Both were men of ability, both had followings and both sought the coveted prize. Yet each had failings, and Fate interfered with each in some manner which cost him the support of his party.

Blaine was quick-witted, clever in politics and audacious.¹⁴⁶ Once Speaker of the House of Representatives, he knew how to handle men, but not how to curb his own temper. Senator Conkling, big, overbearing and detesting the South, had a reputation as an excellent criminal lawyer. He was the undisputed chief of the Republi-

¹⁴⁴ Quoted in Clifford H. Moore, "Ohio in National Politics, 1865–1896," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXXVII (1928), 302–3.

¹⁴⁵ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 297.

¹⁴⁶ H. J. Eckenrode, *Rutherford B. Hayes* (New York, 1930), 115.

can party in New York. There had not been much love lost between the two men since 1866 when Blaine clashed swords with Conkling in Congress and characterized him as a man with a "turkey-gobbler strut." In April, 1876, Blaine further destroyed his chances of securing the nomination when he dramatically enmeshed himself in the charges of graft brought in connection with the construction of western railroads. Hayes described Blaine's chances accurately when he said that "as a candidate before the people, his newly-acquired wealth, his schemes for getting the nomination, and his connection with the money interests depending for success on legislation, will damage him."¹⁴⁷ Conkling, of course, was Blaine's sworn enemy, particularly after Blaine had attacked him.¹⁴⁸ Among the other aspirants for the nomination were Oliver P. Morton of Indiana and Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky.¹⁴⁹ In addition, John F. Hartranft, Pennsylvania, Marshall Jewell, Connecticut, and others were mentioned as possibilities.¹⁵⁰

The first victory for Hayes and the "Ohio Dynasty" occurred when Cincinnati was selected as the convention city. It has been said that Hayes could not have been nominated in any other city of the United States.¹⁵¹ Hayes had been born in Delaware, Ohio, on October 4, 1823, and had been closely identified with the State from that time until his nomination.¹⁵² It was little wonder, then, that Ohio newspapers should give Hayes both approval and publicity. The enthusiasm of Ohio itself undoubtedly helped to win him the nomination. By June 8, "early-bird" delegates were beginning to flock into Cincinnati which was colorfully decorated for the convention. Hotels and private homes were being filled.¹⁵³

Political sages, gathered in hotel rooms heavy with cigar smoke and clustered in intimate knots along mahogany bars, made predictions and placed bets on the convention's choice of a candidate.

¹⁴⁷ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 320.

¹⁴⁸ Alfred R. Conkling, *Life and Letters of Roscoe Conkling* (New York, 1889), 264.

¹⁴⁹ James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1886), II, 567-8.

¹⁵⁰ Joseph B. Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life* (Cincinnati, 1916), I, 93-4.

¹⁵¹ Eckenrode, *Hayes*, 121-2.

¹⁵² For early life see Williams, *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, chaps. 1-5.

¹⁵³ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 8, 1876.

The formidable support claimed by Blaine's henchmen was said to be decreasing while Conkling's and Morton's influence increased. Yet others maintained that Blaine could shatter the causes of both Hayes and Hartranft at any moment he chose.¹⁵⁴ "The game of dog eat dog," sagely said an editor whose finger was upon the public pulse, "is being put into practice with desperate energy by some of the rival candidates."¹⁵⁵ The *Cincinnati Enquirer* predicted that nothing less than a miracle or an interference of Providence could result in the nomination of either Hayes or Bristow.¹⁵⁶ As late as June 14 Hayes himself felt that Blaine might be chosen upon the first or a very early ballot.¹⁵⁷ Foraker who was attending his first national political convention said that all kinds of rumors and reports were in circulation and that the situation was unusual.¹⁵⁸

The convention met at noon on June 14 in Cincinnati's Exposition Hall where a stage had been erected and from which rose tiers of seats. Delegations had been assigned sections, telegraph wires had been strung into the building and plans had been perfected to give police protection to distinguished notables.¹⁵⁹ Among these were Robert G. Ingersoll who made the speech nominating Blaine; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, who placed the name of Oliver P. Morton before the convention; George W. Curtis, distinguished editor and publisher; and James Russell Lowell. State delegations swept into Cincinnati and into the convention hall with bands, banners and flags. The New York delegation carried aloft a huge oil painting of Senator Conkling. From Maine came men with ribbons emblazoned with Blaine's name. The Ninth Regimental Band from Manhattan added to the general din. Bristow boys from Kentucky opened their headquarters in Pike's Opera House. From Chicago came dispatches that Republicans from the Gopher State were en route to Cincinnati with the slogan "We're for Blaine"

¹⁵⁴ *Cincinnati Commercial*, June 9, 1876.

¹⁵⁵ *Cincinnati Gazette*, June 9, 1876.

¹⁵⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 9, 1876.

¹⁵⁷ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 324.

¹⁵⁸ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 95.

¹⁵⁹ For diagram of convention floor see *Cincinnati Gazette*, June 10, 1876.

on their lips. At the Grand Theatre, packed with delegates in search of amusement, a chorus brought down the house singing,

“Conkling and Hayes
Is the ticket that pays.”¹⁶⁰

The Ohio delegation was led by Noyes and the venerable Senator Benjamin F. Wade. Indiana Republicans were said to be “as thick as mosquitoes in blackberry time” throughout the noisy convention city.

When these men—and hundreds more—marched into the great hall for the opening exercises, the noise was terrific and the scene colorful. The room was decorated with flags and hung with red, white and blue festoons, Hartranft supporters wore white beaver hats and illuminated badges; the delegation from Pennsylvania appeared in white duck hats; Conkling men from New York carried white silk flags which prompted the sneering remark that they had surrendered before the battle started.¹⁶¹

The first day was consumed with organization details and the appointment of committees. Not until the second day of the convention did a barrage of orators place the names of their favorite candidates before the assembly. James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* predicted that if Blaine should lose the nomination, then “look out for the Great Unknown.”¹⁶² The *Daily Graphic* said, “There is no telling what this convention may do today.”¹⁶³ After discussion and adoption of the party's platform, nominating oratory began. Stewart L. Woodward presented the name of Conkling; John M. Harlan nominated Bristow; and Richard W. Thompson placed the name of Morton before the delegates. Lynn Bartholomew spoke for Hartranft. The silver-tongued orator, Robert G. Ingersoll, electrified the audience when he supported Blaine with the words: “Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his

¹⁶⁰ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 11, 1876.

¹⁶¹ Cincinnati *Commercial*, June 15, 1876.

¹⁶² New York *Herald* (Cincinnati edition), June 15, 1876.

¹⁶³ New York *Daily Graphic*, June 15, 1876.

shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer and maligner of his country.”¹⁶⁴

Ohioans, however, had been waiting patiently for Governor Noyes who had been selected to nominate Hayes. The nomination was seconded by the aged Wade. Support from the galleries was feeble when Noyes rose to speak. “Gov. Hayes,” he said, “is honest; he is brave; he is unpretending; he is wise, sagacious, a scholar and a gentleman. Enjoying an independent fortune, the simplicity of his private life, his modesty of bearing, are a standing rebuke to the extravagance, the reckless extravagance, which leads to corruption in public and in private places.” He affirmed that Hayes could “carry Indiana, Ohio, and New York, as well as other doubtful states.”¹⁶⁵

Hayes received the loyal support of his own State. As the convention continued, bitter strife developed between supporters of Blaine and rival candidates, so that none of the outstanding candidates could swing the nomination. Gradually, support swung to Hayes, and he was nominated on the seventh ballot. The “miracle” had been accomplished and a “Great Unknown” had forged to victory. William A. Wheeler of New York was nominated for the vice-presidency. No sooner had the news been announced than boys were selling Hayes medals and lithographs upon the streets. That night the Hayes headquarters were gay with red lights and noisy with the sound of bands which blared forth from the street corners.¹⁶⁶

“Hayes is not the ideal candidate,” commented the *Commercial*, “but he is, for party purposes, a good candidate. He has not the aggressive energy of a thorough-going reformer, but he has the instincts of an honest man. He will probably not pursue thieves through the land like an avenging fury, but he will not gather them about him, and shelter them as a hen her brood under her wings.”¹⁶⁷ The Cincinnati *Gazette* predicted that Republican defeat was im-

¹⁶⁴ Cincinnati *Commercial*, June 16, 1876.

¹⁶⁵ Cincinnati *Gazette*, June 16, 1876.

¹⁶⁶ Cincinnati *Commercial*, June 17, 1876.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

possible with Hayes as the standard-bearer.¹⁶⁸ "The wicked have ceased from troubling and have departed," said the disappointed *Enquirer* which explained that Hayes's nomination rounded out and crowned a course of keen, cunning Republican diplomacy.¹⁶⁹ The New York *Herald* said that the nomination proved conclusively that "westward the star of Empire takes its way."¹⁷⁰ Hayes felt that his nomination had been well received and said that he must make it his constant duty to deserve the confidence of his party.¹⁷¹

The Republican platform which Hayes was called upon to support embodied the permanent pacification of the southern states; supported specie payment; said that appointments to public office should be made on the basis of honesty, fidelity and capacity; emphasized the fact that the public school system was the bulwark of the Republic; frowned upon the granting of aid to sectarian schools; hinted at a high tariff; demanded that the national domain be reserved for the use of the people; touched upon Mongolian immigration; recognized with approval advances made toward woman suffrage; listed the veterans as worthy of pledges which the Nation had made them; deprecated all sectional feelings; and charged the Democratic party with a long list of sins including treason and incompetency.¹⁷²

Hayes's acceptance of the nomination dwelt upon the need for reform in the manner of appointing officials to public office and upon the currency question. He indicated that the old slogan, "To the victors belong the spoils," made for extravagance and official incapacity and said that, if elected, he would make appointments upon the merit basis. Regarding the second problem, he bluntly said: "I regard all the laws of the United States relating to the payment of the public indebtedness, the legal-tender notes included, as constituting a pledge and the moral obligation of the Government, which must, in good faith, be kept."¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Cincinnati *Gazette*, June 17, 1876, for sketch of Hayes's life.

¹⁶⁹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 17, 1876.

¹⁷⁰ New York *Herald* (Cincinnati edition), June 17, 1876.

¹⁷¹ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 328.

¹⁷² Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876 (New York, 1888), 782-3.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 783-4.

Meanwhile, the Democratic National Convention assembling in St. Louis, had constructed a platform and had nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York as its presidential candidate and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana as his running companion. The platform laid heavy emphasis upon two terms, "reform" and "denounce." Reform was necessary, said the Democrats, to rebuild the Union, to establish a sound currency and restore public credit, to revise federal taxation, to decrease federal, state and municipal expenses, to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands, to correct the errors of the Grant administration, and to correct the abuses in the civil service. The financial system was denounced, as were the tariff, the wastefulness of the Republicans and the handling of the Mongolian question.¹⁷⁴

Blaine called Tilden the most striking figure in some respects in the Democratic party since the time of Andrew Jackson.¹⁷⁵ A devotee of Jackson and a disciple of Van Buren, Tilden had played a prominent part in the Barnburners' Revolt of 1848, had both supported and repudiated the Wilmot Proviso and had served as the chairman of the Democratic State Committee of New York. He had aided in the overthrow of the infamous Tweed Ring, had been elected governor of his state, and had showed himself an able politician. He was known as a man who made honest government respectable.¹⁷⁶ He believed in a sound money policy, favored a moderate tariff, advocated reform in the Federal Government, supported the thesis that troops should be withdrawn from the South and frowned upon the Fifteenth Amendment. He possessed an almost fatal disqualification, however. He had no Civil War record and could not hope to swing the veteran vote in the manner that Hayes might. "Bloody Shirt" Blaine was to make much of this during the ensuing campaign. Hayes realized that Tilden would make a formidable opponent who might carry New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.¹⁷⁷ Tilden's nomination, predicted the *Enquirer*,

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 785-6.

¹⁷⁵ Blaine, *Twenty Years*, II, 573.

¹⁷⁶ Eckenrode, *Hayes*, 137.

¹⁷⁷ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 333.

would mean the "shameful and cowardly" abandonment of the western states to the Republican party and spoke of a "sweet odor of reform and official purity and frankincense" which would cling to the Democrats.¹⁷⁸ The trouble with Tilden, caustically said the Cleveland *Leader*, is that "he never has carried his reforms far enough to injure his friends or particularly offend his enemies."¹⁷⁹

The campaign of 1876 was dramatic, loud and bitter. In Ohio and elsewhere Democrats brought to light the many scandals of the Grant administration. Republicans replied by attempting to identify the Democratic party with the cause of secession, and in villages all over the land the Civil War was refought with vigor and vituperation. Tilden came in for his share of mud-slinging at the hands of professional politicians who knew the art of besmirching a man's character. To vote for Tilden, according to Ohio Republicans, was to repudiate every northern veteran, to give approval to secession and nullification, and to applaud a thorough-going villain. The "Bloody Shirt," patriotism, the G. A. R. and Republicanism allied themselves to defeat the Democratic party. The veteran vote probably did more to defeat Tilden than any other single factor. Benjamin Harrison struck the keynote of the campaign when he said: "I prefer the old gray army shirt, stained with but a single drop of a dead comrade's blood, to the black flag of treason or the white flag of cowardice."¹⁸⁰

The Nation adequately summed up the Republican "cries" as follows: (1) that the Southerners and northern Democrats were still public enemies and should be met at the polls in the same spirit in which they were met on the battlefield; (2) that they were blood-thirsty men, who delighted in the slaughter of Negroes, and therefore should be kept out of power in the interests of humanity; (3) that Tilden defrauded the Government in his income tax; (4) that if his party got into office they would pay themselves about two billion dollars in claims for damage during the war, and therefore

¹⁷⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 26, 1876.

¹⁷⁹ Quoted in Cincinnati *Commercial*, June 27, 1876.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in Eckenrode, *Hayes*, 144.

should be kept out of power in the interest of economy; (5) that if they got into power the public credit would be ruined, and European capitalists would lend us no more money at four and a half per cent.¹⁸¹

As the Nation breathlessly awaited the results of the November 7 election, Hayes himself felt strangely calm and indifferent about it. On October 22, he had foreseen the possibility of a contested result and had indicated that machinery should be set up to determine uncertain decisions.¹⁸² That the election would be close was the opinion of most competent observers. Hayes received returns from telegraph messengers who carried results to his Columbus home where he and a group of friends waited anxiously. On the following morning, the Cincinnati *Enquirer* announced victory for Tilden and maintained that he had swept the East, West and South.¹⁸³ "Deliverance," however, had not yet come, and the loud timbrel which Faran and McLean, publishers of the *Enquirer*, had sounded was muted when it was learned that the election had been contested in four states—Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina and Oregon. Ohio's vote, of course, was cast for her native son.

To resolve the difficulty, an Electoral Commission composed of fifteen members made up equally from the House of Representatives, the Senate and the Supreme Court was created. The political complexion of the commission when it got down to work was Republican, there being eight Republicans and seven Democrats. The commission approved the Republican returns from Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina and Oregon. On March 2, 1877, it was announced that Hayes had been elected by an electoral vote of 185 to 184. Meanwhile, business suffered from the uncertainty and in many departments of trade dullness amounted to stagnation.¹⁸⁴

Hayes himself did not receive final results until he was en route to Washington. He had left Columbus, after a reception at the State House, on the first of the month and was awakened near

¹⁸¹ "The Week," *Nation* (New York), XXIII (1876), 277.

¹⁸² Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 373, 374.

¹⁸³ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Nov. 8, 1876.

¹⁸⁴ "The Week," *Nation*, XXIII, 321.

Harrisburg to hear the news.¹⁸⁵ Foraker commented that Hayes's "title was clear, and his skirts were clean."¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Democrats termed the new President the "Usurper."¹⁸⁷ The bitter Cincinnati *Enquirer* called the results the "monster fraud of the century" and referred to Hayes as the "King of the Conspirators" and the "Apotheosis of fraud."¹⁸⁸ On the other hand, the Cincinnati *Commercial* received the news with a sense of relief and said that the people of the State were thankful the long contest was over and that "a man in whose moderation, sense of justice, and integrity they can trust now succeeds to the Presidential office."¹⁸⁹ In Ohio, the popular vote had shown that about seven thousand more Buckeyes agreed with the *Commercial* instead of its Democratic rival. Hayes had received 330,698 votes as contrasted with Tilden's 323,-182. The bitter political controversy must not have been foreseen by a Cincinnati aspirant for the office of commissioner of deeds for New York in Ohio, who in May had asked Hayes to recommend him to Tilden for that post.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 425.

¹⁸⁶ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 103.

¹⁸⁷ "The Week," *Nation*, XXIV (1877), 140.

¹⁸⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Mar. 2, 6, 1877.

¹⁸⁹ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Mar. 3, 1877.

¹⁹⁰ S. S. Carpenter to R. B. Hayes, Cincinnati, May 1, 1876, Executive Records, Correspondence (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), Box 236.

CHAPTER III

The Farmer and His Land

BOYS in Blue returned to Ohio after the Civil War to till the soil. Their parents before them had cleared forests, had turned the gray-brown soil, had planted bread crops and had built homes. A younger generation was now to carry Ohio agriculture forward. New machinery was to be introduced, new breeds of cattle were to be raised and scientific farming was to be tried. Ohio, despite the influence of industrialization, was not to ignore planting and reaping. The good earth to the Buckeye farmer was still the solid foundation of his economic life.

Ohio was well-suited to a varied agriculture. Its climate was productive with much heat energy which stimulated a rapid growth of crops. Its general surface level was about a thousand feet above tidewater. The eastern regions of the State were broken and hilly. The Western Reserve and the western portions were rolling. In 1876, it was said that less than one per cent of the land was absolute waste or uncultivable. The limestones, sands and clays upon which the Buckeye farmer labored were all a part of geologic series that were deposited in water, there being no igneous rocks in the State.¹ Agriculturists pointed out that Ohio was declared "admirably" suited for the cultivation of all the extra-tropical cereals with the exception of South Carolina rice. Some valuable grasses flourished, pastureage was abundant for cattle and sheep raising, and the cultivation of fruits was "unsurpassed by any equal area in the Union."²

As the returned soldier tramped over the homestead which he knew before the war, his feet might move through clay, loam, sand,

¹ Geological Survey of Ohio (Third Organization), *First Annual Report* (Columbus, 1890), 9.

² J. H. Klippert, "Condition of Agriculture in Ohio in 1876," *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture* (Columbus, 1877), 481. Cited as *O. A. R.* in this chapter and thereafter as *Ohio Agr. Rep.*

or muck. His woodlot grew splendid stands of timber. Walnut, cherry, maple, oak, elm, beech, chestnut, ash and sycamore were abundant. There was also plenty of poorer timber. Buckeye, gum, pine, cucumber, sassafras, dogwood, hackberry and cottonwood offered exercise for ax and saw. But as population increased, the forest area decreased. Trees that had withstood the storms of centuries fell under the stroke of the sturdy settler's ax, and vast tracts of forests were burned.³ The magnolia brightened the western parts of the State and the red sumac tangled itself in southern Ohio.⁴

Lakes and streams were alive with fish. Black bass, white perch, pickerel and white fish offered the farmer-angler pleasure.⁵ Pan-fish could be caught in almost any of the streams which meandered through fields and pastures. Governor Noyes, much interested in fish conservation throughout Ohio, once spoke of the "necessity for stocking our rivers, lakes, ponds, etc., with this cheap and desirable food."⁶ "There is perhaps an average of one lineal mile of water-course," said a report, "such as rivulet, brook, run, stream, or creek, on every two square miles of Ohio's area; and all are fed by subterranean springs."⁷ An annual forty-inch rainfall watered timber and pasture areas and made possible rich grain harvests.

The average size of an Ohio farm during the period from 1870 to 1900 probably was about ninety-five acres, although many individual blocks of land ranged from forty to two hundred acres. In 1870, the average area of a farm was 110.8 acres; in 1880, 99.2 acres; in 1890, 92.9 acres, and at the turn of the century 88.5 acres. Despite the fact that land in western states was luring men of the soil away from eastern communities during the decades after the Civil War, the number of farms in Ohio steadily increased. In 1870, for example, there were about 195,000 farms; in 1880, 247,000; in 1890, 251,000, and in 1900, 276,000.

³ Ohio State Forestry Bureau, *First Annual Report* (Columbus, 1886), 15.

⁴ John Hussey, "List of Trees Found Growing Indigenously in Ohio," *O. A. R.*, 1872, 32-40.

⁵ Ohio Commissioners of Fisheries, "First Annual Report," *O. A. R.*, 1873, 463-70.

⁶ Jno. B. Neil to E. T. Sterling, Dec. 16, 1873, Executive Letter Book, 1873-1875 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 30.

⁷ Klippert, "Condition of Agriculture in Ohio," 547.

The majority of these farms were operated by their owners. About seventy-seven per cent were managed by the men who held title to the land. A little more than fifteen per cent were operated by share tenants, and seven and one-half per cent were farmed by cash tenants. A share tenant was one who leased a farm from its owner and paid rent in crops or produce. The rent usually amounted to one-third, two-fifths, or one-half of the crops. Fifty per cent of a crop as rent, however, was regarded as excessive and unusual.

A cash tenant, as the term implies, paid rent in currency, rather than in commodities. When farms were leased for cash, the rent amounted to a per cent of the value of the farm. Usually this averaged around four or five per cent, although in some cases it soared to twelve per cent.⁸ Not all tenants, of course, were prompt in payment of rent, and some landlords seldom found a "gilt-edge" tenant who could be relied upon to meet obligations promptly.⁹ Even with thrift, however, farmers and tenants had difficulty in meeting their obligations. Year by year they seemed to become poorer, found it more difficult to meet their debts, and observed that the price of farm products was decreasing while the cost of manufactured goods was increasing.¹⁰

By far the greater number of agriculturists in Ohio who operated as owners or tenants were Americans. Fifteen years after the outbreak of the Civil War, the majority of Ohio counties reported that most of their farmers were natives of the United States. Ten counties indicated that the bulk of their farm population was German. Nine counties reported a mixture of Americans and Germans, and only one county, Hamilton, reported a mixture of Irish and German. No county indicated that its rural group was all Irish.¹¹ No returns in this survey were made on other nationalities.

Most Ohio farmers concentrated upon the major grain crops.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 585-7.

⁹ Alfred M. Allen to A. W. Gilbert, Cincinnati, Apr. 29, 1892, Gilbert MSS. (Miami University Library).

¹⁰ M. B. Morton, "The Agricultural Problem," *North American Review* (New York), CLXII (1896), 639.

¹¹ Klippert, "Condition of Agriculture in Ohio," 582-4.

Corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye and buckwheat were the prominent grains. The total number of bushels raised of these primary food-stuffs was exceedingly high, and such crops were grown generally throughout the State. No longer was there as well-defined a "corn-belt" or a "wheat-belt" as there had been before and immediately after the Civil War. Farmers had learned an important lesson: to engage in diversified agriculture and not to pin their hopes upon one or two staple crops. Certain sections, of course, continued to specialize in corn, wheat, dairying, or cattle breeding.

In general, topography and soils influenced agricultural practices, resulting in the raising of particular crops in specific areas of the State. Roughly speaking, the limestone areas were suited to the cultivation of corn and clover. A line drawn from Sandusky south to the Ohio River, by way of Columbus and the eastern portion of Adams County, set off one section. To the west of this line were the corn and clover areas. Exceptions to this division were found in the northwest and in parts of Logan County. To the east of the line, crops were mostly centered about dairying activities and sheep raising. Wheat, potatoes and fruit were generally grown.

In the southeastern hilly sections of the State large areas were in woodland pastures. Farmers concentrated upon cattle raising and cattle products. Sheep raising was prevalent. During the eighteen-fifties some wheat was raised in this section, but this crop steadily decreased. After the seventies the planting of corn and oats also diminished. Tobacco culture also was on the decline. On the other hand, the hay crop steadily increased, and cattle culture and sheep raising remained fairly constant.

On the Western Reserve and in the northeastern counties generally, dairying was a predominant activity even before the Civil War. Hay, potatoes and maple products proved a valuable source of farm income. Swine raising was limited by the fact that poor drainage and an acid soil made for unfavorable corn cultivation. On the other hand, the hilly and inadequately drained land made for excellent grazing and pasturing.

South of the Western Reserve and following the northern

boundary of the hilly area lay the "back-bone" counties of Ohio. There the wheat crop dominated agricultural activity. Hay crops, including clover, were raised, and dairying was carried on. In the northeastern and southeastern counties orchards and fruit were well developed. Along the lake shore grapes and small fruits flourished well.

Corn was the principal crop of the western counties of Ohio with the exception of the Ohio River tier of counties. Rolling land and a limestone soil furnished satisfactory corn conditions. Other grains were grown, as were both hay and clover. Hogs, beef cattle and sheep were raised, although sheep raising was more prominent in the north central counties. The southwestern counties raised wheat. Oats were raised in Madison and Darke counties and on northward. The agricultural activities of the northwestern section of the State followed that of the corn-growing counties of the southwest.

Corn grew in the bottom lands and in the Scioto Valley. Vegetables flourished in the Scioto and Muskingum river valleys. Later, vegetable production developed along the watershed which divides the Ohio River from the Great Lakes. Marshes were drained and turned into vegetable gardens.¹²

Corn was king in Ohio. Farmers strove desperately to produce premium crops, to perfect their seed and to increase their per acre yield. Some replaced carefully the nitrogen, phosphoric acid and the potash which corn removed from the soil. Elaborate tables were prepared to guide farmers in their experimentation with soil exhaustion. It was estimated that chemical corn-growing was less expensive than a manured crop and that the results were greater.¹³ In 1897, an institute speaker said that "it is a fact that none of you will dispute that there is no grain crop that the average farmer can raise that will produce as much good, nutritious food from a given amount of seed as will maize or Indian corn; *also that we can greatly*

¹² W. A. Lloyd *et al.*, *The Agriculture of Ohio*, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin*, no. 326 (Wooster, 1918), 233-9.

¹³ E. Lewis Sturtevant, "Chemical Corn-Growing," *O. A. R.*, 1875, 459.

increase the crop from what it is at present, by giving it more thought and better attention.”¹⁴

Corn required in Ohio as elsewhere a rich and well-drained soil. The silty clay, or clay loams found throughout the State were considered good corn land as was brown or red clay mixed with limestone. Deep loam, of course, was ideal. A field which the previous year had grown clover sod also was considered excellent for corn planting. Timothy and wheat sod sometimes were used, but corn sod was thought to be unsuitable. The old saying that “ground well-plowed is half-harrowed” was acted upon by the careful corn raiser. Some farmers preferred the Oliver plow supplied with a wheel by which the depth of plowing could be regulated and by a jointer which swept rubbish and sod into the bottom of the furrow. Spring was the time to plow, and planting took place, weather permitting, from the first to the tenth of May. Experts used a wire check rower and frequently planted in hills three feet, six inches each way. A light, fine-toothed harrow was used for cultivating, and weeds were kept down by frequent use of a cultivator with three small shovels on a side. Cultivation was recommended until harvest began. When half the husks had turned brown, corn was considered in the proper condition for cutting and shocking. Binder twine held the shocks together. Cribbing followed husking, and then the crop was in for another winter.

A great difference of opinion existed among farmers as to the best seed. White Rough and Ready was a favorite as were yellow Hackberry, and Kentucky white. Frequently, men used hybrid seed which they themselves had produced and which they thought superior to established market brands. In 1873, a farmer in Champaign County raised a premium crop of corn. He described his work in detail. “I . . . raised on five acres of ground the present season 420 bushels of good corn, being an average of 84 bushels to the acre. The soil was black, well ditched with tile, and the second crop raised on it, being the same piece of land that I raised the crop that took the premium last year. It was plowed

¹⁴ M. C. Thomas, “Practical Corn Growing,” *O. A. R.*, 1897, 571. Italics mine.

about the first week in May, about twelve inches deep, with three horses and a sod plow; then harrowed and rolled well, and drilled with a Dickey drill, in rows about three and a half feet apart. Came up well, but wire-worms worked on it, so that I did not get as good a crop as last year. Tended it by plowing with a double shovel and a Whitley plow, four times in all. The kind of corn is white cap, mixed with yellow."¹⁵ The per acre cost of this bumper crop was estimated at \$17.63.

Competent corn raisers, such as this prize winner, helped to swell the total number of bushels raised in Ohio. In 1870, over eighty-eight and a half million bushels were produced; in 1880, the figure rose to one hundred five million bushels; in 1890, a poor year in general, the total yield was in excess of sixty-three million; and ten years later the returns showed more than one hundred forty-three million bushels. Much of this corn was fed to stock in various ways—from cribs, in the field, or left in the shock to be found and eaten by cattle. Some of it was sold. In 1874, the *Ohio Practical Farmer* quoted corn at fifty-five cents.¹⁶

A lecturer graphically outlined the errors of corn cultivation before a group of farmers in 1883. He made an ear of corn tell the story. "Your fathers of old put me in a good warm bed to sleep in. I grew big, had a fine head on me, but now you put me in a cold, wet bed. I cannot grow—I am too cold, and you send your hired hand to visit me once or twice while I am trying to grow. And my great enemies, the weeds, are growing faster than I am, and you will not cut their heads off. And those of you who put me in a good, warm bed, treat me still worse, for, when I grow big and have a fine head on me, you cut it off, sell it to the distiller, who mashes me, makes whisky of me, and sells it to your sons, and makes drunkards of them. God never created me for such a vile purpose. I was created to feed the animal creation."¹⁷

Farmers had other worries than those complaints expressed

¹⁵ *O. A. R.*, 1873, 129.

¹⁶ *Ohio Practical Farmer* (Cleveland), May 2, 1874. Hereafter cited as *Ohio Farmer*.

¹⁷ B. Cusick, "An Essay on Corn Culture," *O. A. R.*, 1883, 535.

above. Corn was subject to a variety of destructive insects which preyed on root, stalk and ear. A practical knowledge of insecticides was recommended if a healthy harvest was desired. Among the army of insects which feasted upon corn were the grub of the May beetle or June bug, wireworms, cutworms and the western corn root worm. Among the natural enemies were birds. The chief offenders were the raucous crow and the blackbird. The robin, brown thrush and Alice thrush, on the other hand, ate many of the insects which lived on a corn diet.¹⁸

The damage to corn roots by insects, testified an old-time farmer, ranged from two to sixty per cent. He drew a vivid picture of the damage done to a field by a "little pea-green colored insect." First the corn was checked in growth. "Soon the blades have a yellowish appearance. A few of the plants are killed. A small number die along the edge of the blades only; others in elongated blotches in the deep green stalks. Later in the season a few blades turn as red as blood beet; the thimbles, stalks and husks on many hills show purple, red and pink colors. If you pull up a stalk after the jointing has commenced and split it down through the crown of the spur roots, the heart or pith of the stalk will be found discolored, a dirty brown color, where the roots come out, showing unmistakable signs of decay, with only a thin shell of live plant around the dead center."¹⁹

Wheat, source of daily bread, was raised generally throughout Ohio. Its culture was debated by farmers around the cracker barrel, by housewives at cooking schools and by lecturers at county institutes. Spring and winter wheat and the price of flour were determining factors in the cost of living for thousands of farm families. In 1878, Ohio raised thirty-five million bushels with an average yield of fifteen and a half bushels per acre. In 1890, over thirty-one million bushels were produced, and in 1900, a poor year, the number dropped to about ten million bushels.

¹⁸ F. M. Webster, "Some of the More Destructive Corn Insects of Ohio," *O. A. R.*, 1893, 300-11.

¹⁹ J. M. Allen, "Insect Destroyers of Corn Roots in Ohio," *O. A. R.*, 1895, 297.

Two persistent problems faced the Ohio wheat grower. How could the yield per acre be increased? How could the quality be improved? Agricultural experts recommended that per acre yield might be multiplied by better drainage, particularly underdraining; by efficient tillage with emphasis upon the old slogan that "three plowings are as good as a manuring"; by scientific chemical fertilization; and by the use of seed known to be prolific. Fultz and Clawson seed offered better returns than did Mediterranean which was commonly used.

The quality of wheat hinged upon the amount of gluten it contained. Good, light bread was the direct result of gluten content—the more gluten, the lighter the bread. Ohio farmers, then, were urged to increase gluten content by planting in dry, sandy soil and to refrain from planting on rich, heavy soils which only increased the starch content. Better drainage and phosphatic fertilizers also aided in securing better quality. Farmers also were urged not to permit cut wheat to stand in shock until threshed as exposure injured the grain. Among the wheats recommended for experimentation were the Red Mediterranean, Sandomirka, Velvet Chaff, Arnold's Gold Medal, Golden Straw, Fultz, Clawson, and Silver Chaff. Soil experts maintained that if Ohio farmers followed their advice, they could increase their per acre yield by five bushels which would add more than ten million bushels to the total crop of the State.²⁰ Unfortunately, many farmers ignored the "text-book" wisdom of agricultural and grange experts and lecturers.

Wheat raising was urged by many men for varied reasons. One maintained that the increasing immigration to the United States meant an increase in milling and that, therefore, farmers should be ready to meet this demand.²¹ Another maintained that wheat was a "paying" crop despite the fact that the market varied from year to year.²² Still another was content to say: "The farmer must raise the wheat; to the miller it must go for the flour to be made from it;

²⁰ N. S. Townshend, "Wheat," *O. A. R.*, 1879, 438.

²¹ F. A. Derthick, "Shall We Raise Wheat, and How?" *O. A. R.*, 1893, 413.

²² C. A. Coler, "A Paying Crop," *O. A. R.*, 1897, 482.

the flour then to the baker for the bread.”²³ A little jingle expressed the sentimental argument well.

“The world could thrive were there a few
Great industries forever still,
But what a wail there would ensue
Were lost each miller and each mill.”

Contemporary literature was filled with advice to farmers who raised wheat. Over and over again proper preparation of soil was emphasized.²⁴ Elaborate instructions were issued for the proper preparation of wheat land no matter what type of soil was being used. “To get the best results in thin clay soil,” explained a practical farmer, “is to let the crop grow up and then plow under after harvest as soon as can be done, so the ground will have time to settle thoroughly.”²⁵ In wheat culture, said another farmer, “there is nothing of greater importance than good plowing.”²⁶ Rotation of crops was also recommended. One farmer who wrote a prize essay on farm management rotated as follows: Timothy and clover; timothy and clover; wheat; mostly potatoes; early potatoes; wheat, seed to timothy and clover.²⁷ Others invariably rotated corn with wheat.²⁸

It was only natural that farmers attempted to raise wheat which would make a high-grade flour. Mention already has been made of the gluten and starch contents of various wheats. There were additional considerations. Flour made from soft wheat was mushy, pasty and could be rolled into damp balls like dough. Flour milled from hard wheat resembled grains of sand and would not “ball up.” Both winter and spring wheat had hard and soft varieties. Fields of each were pleasant to see. One writer commented upon an especially attractive stretch of this grain. “It waved its pendulous heads to the

²³ L. E. Chamberlin, “Our Daily Bread,” *O. A. R.*, 1897, 485.

²⁴ T. B. Terry, “Some of the Secrets of Successful Wheat Culture,” *O. A. R.*, 1891, 417.

²⁵ T. L. Bishop, “Preparation of the Land for a Wheat Crop,” *O. A. R.*, 1891, 421.

²⁶ F. B. McNeal, “Essay on Wheat Culture,” *O. A. R.*, 1880, 457.

²⁷ T. B. Terry, “Farm Report,” *O. A. R.*, 1882, 629.

²⁸ George E. Scott, “The Science of Twentieth Century Corn and Wheat Culture,” *O. A. R.*, 1901, 572.

slight breezes that blew, each giving promise of great productiveness, and as far as the eye could reach over waving fields each ear was of unusual length."²⁹ Mere beauty to the eye, however, was no guarantee of quality. The miller demanded grain which would manufacture into high-grade flour. In 1874, flour prices ranged from nine dollars for xxx white to \$7.50 for spring flour.³⁰

Premium wheat was raised in a variety of ways. One farmer testified that during the early part of September, 1871, he raised ten acres of wheat on "plain" land and on corn land. His cultivation was simple. First, he plowed with a double-shovel plow one way, then sowed about one and a half bushels to the acre, and plowed cross-wise. Half his acreage was seeded with the purple-stem Mediterranean and half with Tappahannock wheat. Grain was cut with a machine. The yield was thirty-two bushels of Mediterranean to the acre and thirty-one bushels of Tappahannock per acre. A wheat grower in Delaware County, using red chaff Mediterranean in black swamp land, well underdrained, produced thirty-four and a half bushels to the acre.³¹

No matter how fertile the land and how carefully it was treated, there always was the chance that wheat blights would decrease yields. The plagues of the farmer were the rusts and smuts. These vegetable parasites were fungi having no chlorophyl (the green coloring matter in plants which converts mineral matter from the soil into organic matter). Rusts and smuts were, therefore, obliged to obtain chlorophyl from other living plants. Farmers attempted to eradicate this evil by spraying with solutions of Bordeaux mixture, tincture of sulphur and iron chloride. Smuts were of two types—the "stinking" smut which entered the growing grain only and the "loose" smut which penetrated both grain and chaff. During the eighteen-nineties the most effective preventive for smuts was obtained by soaking the seed in water of 132° temperature for fifteen minutes. Seeds thus treated were sowed immediately after

²⁹ Quoted in W. I. Ballinger, "The Flouring Qualities of Wheat," *O. A. R.*, 1894, 292.

³⁰ *Ohio Farmer*, May 2, 1874.

³¹ *O. A. R.*, 1872, 144, 146-7.

immersion and before the carefully processed grains dried.³²

The average yield and price of wheat fluctuated widely during Ohio's history. Between 1850 and 1897, yield probably reached a low in 1854 when 11,989,110 bushels were grown and the average yield per acre was eight bushels. The average price in this year was \$1.19. Price probably hit a record low in 1894 when 50,852,433 bushels were raised and the average yield per acre was twenty bushels. The average price was fifty-one cents.³³ Much American wheat, of course, was exported to foreign markets. "The foreign market," said an article in the *Country Gentleman*, "has always absorbed our entire surplus; if not each year, then each two years. A short crop always means a small export, and a large crop means a large export, be our prices high or low."³⁴ A peak export year was 1880-1881 when 186,321,514 bushels, including flour, were shipped.³⁵

Oats, barley, and rye, staunch backlogs of the agriculturist, offered relatively few difficulties and were raised with comparative ease. Oats were raised for farm feeding and for the market, barley had a variety of uses, and rye, of course, was an important cereal. All were considered hardy crops. All, in one form or another, moreover, offered the human family nourishment. Oats earned its place on the farmer's table in the form of bowls of breakfast food; barley formed the basis for malt products and broths; and rye was baked into black bread. All three of these grains could be used for animal feed. Oat, barley and even rye mashes were fed horses and cattle. Rye and oats were also used as forage crops. The State's agricultural abundance rested largely upon the variety of its crops.

In 1870, Ohio raised over twenty-four million bushels of oats; in 1880, over twenty-one million bushels; in 1890, over nineteen million bushels; and in 1900, over forty-three million bushels. The average yield per acre varied considerably depending upon soil conditions and care in cultivation. A crop of seventy-one bushels per

³² W. A. Kellerman, "The Rusts and Smuts of Wheat," *O. A. R.*, 1891, 44-5.

³³ *O. A. R.*, 1897, 64.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1883, 438.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 436.

acre was considered exceptional.³⁶ Preferred types of oats in Ohio seemed to be Early White Cotton, the French variety and Norway. Fifty-five bushels per acre was considered a premium yield. Price per bushel varied from seventy-eight and a half cents in 1863 to twenty cents in 1896.³⁷

Barley cultivation required more skill than either oats or rye and less attention than corn or wheat. Ohio farmers frequently considered it a minor crop, and its annual production was relatively small. In 1870, about a million and a half bushels were raised; in 1880, 1,642,308; in 1890, 597,849; and in 1900, 1,134,198. In 1876, for example, not a farmer entered a field of barley for a premium prize at the Ohio State Fair. A year earlier, however, a farmer in Union County raised about forty-four bushels to the acre.³⁸ Canada barley was a favorite type grown in the State. Price varied from \$2.37 in 1868 to thirty-six cents in 1896.³⁹ However, farmers generally believed that grain prices were unsatisfactory.

Rye, although grown in Ohio, was a comparatively limited crop. When marketed it was milled for bread or distilled for whiskey. The farmer sometimes sowed rye after corn in order to "refresh" the soil. It was also considered excellent field forage for winter grazing. "Stock," insisted a lecturer, "will eat rye close to the ground before they will eat clover of the finest quality immediately adjoining it."⁴⁰ Equal parts of rye flour and bran were ideal slop for hogs. Rye also was used to prevent erosion of hillside fields. In 1870, 331,196½ bushels were raised; in 1880, 200,323; in 1890, 618,238; and in 1900, 435,254. About sixteen bushels to the acre was considered premium yield.⁴¹ The average per acre yield, of course, was somewhat less. Price per bushel varied from \$1.62 in 1867 to thirty-six cents in 1896. The average price per bushel for the period from 1855 to 1901 was seventy-six cents. The average

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1872, 154.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1897, 67.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1875, 67.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1897, 94.

⁴⁰ John M. Jamison, "The Use of Rye on the Farm," *O. A. R.*, 1891, 424.

⁴¹ *O. A. R.*, 1875, 305.

price of oats for the same period was thirty-nine cents, and for barley ninety-four cents.⁴²

Among other significant crops of Ohio were timothy, clover, flax, tobacco and potatoes. Each contributed to the welfare of the farm and each increased the farmer's income. As early as 1858, it was pointed out that only three tame fodder plants were worthy of cultivation in Ohio in that they would spring up spontaneously in favorable soils without artificial seeding. These types were the Kentucky bluegrass, wire or June grass and the white clover. The hay and pasture crops needing artificial seeding and useful for stock feeding were timothy, red clover, red top, orchard grass, German millet and the common millet.⁴³ In 1897, farmers were being urged to pay more attention to grasses and the pasturing of stock. "Thousands of acres in Ohio," said an institute lecturer, "should never be touched by the plow; their greatest value lies in their adaptability for grazing sheep and cattle. The more grass we produce the more stock we can maintain and the quicker we will return to a higher state of fertility in our soils."⁴⁴ For general cultivation six types were recommended: Kentucky bluegrass, Meadow Fescue, Fancy Red Top, Perennial Rye, Orchard, and Alsike clover.

Lecturers urged that determined efforts be made to increase both quantity and quality of grasses. Farmers were urged to sow grass as soon as timber was cleared or a grain crop harvested. A top-dressing of manure was recommended for meadows. Irrigation, it was pointed out, would increase production. Drainage was advocated for pasture swales and wet places. Eradication of weeds such as thistles, burdocks, Spanish needles, and stick-seeds was emphasized. Destruction of insects and crows and hawks was approved by scientific farmers interested in preserving Ohio grasses. The case for better care of the grass crop was summed up neatly by an agricultural convention speaker. "Allow me again to express the conviction

⁴² "Average Prices of Other Farm Products than Wheat and Corn in the Local Markets of Ohio from 1855 to 1901, Inclusive," *O. A. R., 1901*, 94.

⁴³ S. D. Harris, "Essay on Grasses, Best Adapted, and Most Profitable to the Farmers of Ohio," *O. A. R., 1858*, 253-4.

⁴⁴ E. E. Elliott, "Grasses for Ohio Pastures," *O. A. R., 1897*, 438.

that the grass crop of Ohio is its most important crop; that farmers especially interested in milk or butter or cheese, in wool, or in fine stock, can scarcely promote these interests more effectually than by striving to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before; and finally that this desirable result may be in part, if not wholly, attained by better seeding, by manuring, by drainage, by irrigation, and by the destruction of troublesome weeds and insects.”⁴⁵

Clover and grasses, of course, were the prominent hay crops. Farmers seeded meadows and pastures with many varieties, but they concentrated their energies upon clover and timothy. Timothy was cultivated generally throughout the State. It was considered the complete food for all herbivorous animals. Farmers, therefore, were careful to cut hay when it possessed its greatest nutritional value. Many made hay when it was heading out or in full blossom. Cutting at such a time the crop was fragrant, green, moist and tender.⁴⁶ Others held that hay in a dried state retained all its feeding values, and still others maintained that hay should be harvested just before the blossom is produced “because at this stage of its growth the young, succulent grass contains more of the albuminoids and less of crude, indigestible matter than at any other period of its existence, and as it grows older, the percentage of albuminoids rapidly decreases, while the crude and indigestible fibre constantly increases.”⁴⁷

The old expression, “to be in clover,” aptly illustrates the importance put upon clover by the farmer. It was especially appropriate for the needs of growing cattle; it was excellent as feed for swine; it was readily digested; it was equally good green or cured; it increased the milk yield of dairy cows; and it was the perfect supplement to a corn diet.⁴⁸ In 1870, 1,554,622 tons of timothy were raised; in 1880, 1,657,808; in 1890, 2,009,179; and in 1900, 2,034,980. Clover crops were not as large. In 1870, 401,389½ tons were

⁴⁵ N. S. Townshend, “The Grass Crop of Ohio,” *O. A. R.*, 1875, 83.

⁴⁶ *O. A. R.*, 1873, 591–2.

⁴⁷ J. S. R. Hazzard, “The Proper Time to Cut Hay,” *O. A. R.*, 1880, 436.

⁴⁸ Wm. Scott, “Clover as Feed, Green and Dry,” *O. A. R.*, 1891, 89–92.

raised; in 1880, 304,615; in 1890, 1,049,476; and in 1900, 361,980. The per ton price of hay varied during the period from 1855 to 1901. It reached a low in 1898 with a price of \$8.65, and it reached a high in 1863 with a price of \$27.16. The average per ton price was \$14.80.⁴⁹

Flax was another minor crop of Ohio. It had been grown from the time of earliest settlement by emigrants who cultivated small patches in order that the household might have cloth. Linseed oil was marketable during the period before the refinement of cotton-seed oil. In early days flax fiber was used in papermaking.⁵⁰ During the Civil War, Ohio farmers renewed their interest in flax, thinking it would make a cheap substitute for cotton which had been furnished by southern states. The virtues of linen were heralded by many northern growers and manufacturers. "Yesterday Cotton was king," said a flax booster in 1862. "Today, if not a pauper, his haunts are surrounded with pauperism. Two hundred years ago the maids of New England kept nimble step to the music of the spinning wheel, and gained the roses of health to their cheeks, without danger of repelling their sensible beaux on account of their rustic employment. Nor were the damsels of Virginia too proud to clothe themselves in 'purple and fine linen' by their own labor, while the substantial Dutch girls of New York displayed with a just pride, and a well rounded ankle, 'stockings of blue, red, and green worsted.' These linen goods were preferable to the cottons of the present day, stronger, more lustrous, and susceptible of higher beauty in coloring."⁵¹ It was urged, therefore, that more flax be raised and that linen makers lower retail prices, so that the public might again have an opportunity to return to linen.

Ohio farmers half-heartedly attempted to increase flax production, and advice on the cultivation of the crop was widely circulated. The charge was denied that flax "scoured" the soil. Early spring planting was urged and instructions were issued for the beat-

⁴⁹ *O. A. R.*, 1901, 94.

⁵⁰ "Flax Industry," *O. A. R.*, 1875, 333.

⁵¹ J. H. Klippert, "Condition of Agriculture in 1862," *O. A. R.*, 1862, xxxviii.

ing off and preservation of the seed. Rust, the persistent enemy, was warned against, and farmers were instructed how to make and operate a breaking-hammer, a swingle-staff and a swingle-board.⁵² In 1871, the corresponding secretary of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture, J. H. Klippert, reprinted lengthy articles from the *Edinburgh Country Gentleman* on flax culture in England and Scotland.⁵³

Despite all efforts, Ohio farmers failed to bring flax to the scale hoped for by certain enthusiasts. Nevertheless, the crop reached sizable proportions. In 1870, 16,864,128 pounds of fiber were realized; in 1880, after the enthusiasm had worn out, the figure dropped to 5,642,024; in 1890, it shrank to 150,127; and in 1900, it jumped to 1,792,015.

Tobacco was another minor crop of Ohio. By 1875 the State was planting annually from thirty to forty thousand acres of *Nicotiana tabacum*. So important, indeed, had tobacco become nationally that it was raised in forty-two states and territories of the Union. The annual crop totaled some three hundred million pounds with a value to producers of about forty million dollars. The United States Commissioner of Agriculture was so impressed by the magnitude of tobacco culture that he wrote of it in glowing terms. "After making careful observations," he said, "we believe that tobacco, with skillful culture and management, is the most remunerative of any crop grown, and a poor business if grown and handled without the application of those principles and appliances which extensive experience has proved to be the best adapted to the ends desired."⁵⁴

In Ohio, the variety best adapted to soil conditions was Connecticut Seed-Leaf. Some Cuba tobacco was also raised in the State as was Big and Little Frederick. Connecticut Seed-Leaf and Cuba were used in the fillers and wrappers of cigars. To raise any type of tobacco, farmers followed a strict regimen. But, as in so many other

⁵² *Id.*, "Flax Culture," *O. A. R.*, 1860, 420-1.

⁵³ *Id.*, "Flax Growing in the United Kingdom," *O. A. R.*, 1871, 408-10; 410-13.

⁵⁴ Frederick Watts, "Tobacco-Cultivation and Curing," *O. A. R.*, 1875, 373.

types of agricultural endeavor, actual practices fell far short of ideal cultivation procedure. More crops probably were raised by a trial and error method than by strictly scientific methods.

For ideal tobacco raising, farmers were urged to plant only selected seed, to plant only in a rich, warm hillside, to plant in December or January, to lay a bed of wood five or six feet high over the patch, to burn for about an hour and a half, to use an iron hook to pull the plant-bed fires, and to roll the ground after seeding. Manuring lightly was recommended. When the young plants were four or five inches high, they were set out in hills and covered until the plants got a good start. Cutworms were guarded against. Next followed topping, priming and suckering. After harvesting, the leaves were placed in a specially constructed drying house for curing. Temperature recommended was 90° at first with a gradual increase until 120° were reached. The heat finally was increased to as much as 175° depending upon the amount of curing desired.

Ohio farmers were urged to fertilize tobacco land as often as necessary, for the crop exhausted soil rapidly. A recommended restorer was composed of tobacco stalks, dry fish guano, potash salts, and quicklime.⁵⁵ In 1870, Ohio raised 43,020,554 pounds of tobacco; in 1880, 38,166,068; in 1890, 27,102,090; and in 1900, 50,454,983. In 1900, Darke County, specializing in cigar-leaf, raised more than eleven million pounds of tobacco; Montgomery County came next with over ten million pounds; and Brown County, in the burley area, third with over four million pounds.⁵⁶

Potato culture in Ohio began early in the State's history, but did not reach significant proportions until the eighteen-seventies. In the first decade of the twentieth century one-half of the potato crop was produced in twenty counties located in the northeastern section of the State. Portage and Cuyahoga counties ranked especially high. In 1860-1869, the average per acre yield was 76.7 bushels; in the decade 1900-1909, it had increased to 92.4. This was due, in part,

⁵⁵ S. W. Johnson, "Tobacco," *O. A. R.*, 1872, 291; J. M. Estes, "Tobacco—Instructions for its Cultivation and Cure," *O. A. R.*, 1891, 439-43.

⁵⁶ *O. A. R.*, 1901, 112-3.

to improved methods of cultivation, stimulated by an increasing demand for both Irish and sweet potatoes.⁵⁷ Potatoes in three-year rotation, preceded by clover and followed by wheat, were satisfactory. Commercial fertilizers composed of phosphoric acid, potash and nitrogen helped to increase yield.⁵⁸ One farmer reported that as a result of careful cultivation, he was able to grow two hundred and fifty bushels to the acre "in a good year."⁵⁹ In 1870, 264,199 $\frac{3}{4}$ bushels of potatoes were grown; in 1880, 1,782,226; in 1890, 123,543; and in 1900, 95,672. The average price per bushel between 1881 and 1901 was fifty-eight cents.⁶⁰

Despite the fact that Ohio was not a "fruit" state, millions of bushels of apples, peaches, pears, cherries and plums were grown for home use and for market. Small fruits—strawberries, raspberries, blackberries—were not extensively grown. Grape culture was stimulated by the wine industry. The orchard and the garden were necessary adjuncts to the normal farm.

As early as 1857, it was said that "no state in the Union, it is believed, possesses as a whole greater advantages of soil and climate for the production of good fruits, and it may be safely asserted that in no other state has there been so large an amount of money expended during the past ten years in the purchase of fruit trees."⁶¹ The severe drought of the summer of 1855, the fruit blights of 1856, the heavy winter of 1855–1856 and seasonal difficulties until 1858, however, discouraged Ohio farmers from enlarging orchards and planting new trees. After 1860, however, fruit culture increased in the State. But even in 1897, B. H. Brown, a farmer of Oxford, said, "I think I am safe in asserting that not on one farm in ten through this great state will be found a supply of all the different kinds of fruit in their season."⁶² A few years earlier an institute speaker offered a novel means of keeping the boy on the farm and

⁵⁷ J. L. Roudebush, "The Potato," *O. A. R.*, 1897, 446-8.

⁵⁸ C. G. Williams, "Experiments with Commercial Fertilizers on Potatoes," *O. A. R.*, 1897, 466-7.

⁵⁹ C. G. Housekeeper, "Growing Potatoes," *O. A. R.*, 1897, 478.

⁶⁰ *O. A. R.*, 1901, 94.

⁶¹ "Fruit Culture in Ohio," *O. A. R.*, 1857, 374.

⁶² B. H. Brown, "The Farmer's Orchard," *O. A. R.*, 1897, 438.

away from the shame of the cities. He said: "How much it would add to the pleasures of that family, and how it would astonish the boys, if instead of a plate of hot grease with the fat pork swimming around in it, he would see a heaping dish of strawberries. It would be remembered by him as a green mile post along the journey of life. Then if that could be duplicated at every meal for four weeks, to be followed in their season by raspberries, blackberries, cherries, grapes, pears, plums, peaches, and apples, why, you simply couldn't drive that boy off the farm, because a boy loves fruit as naturally as a duck loves water."⁶³

Ohio farmers apparently were cold to such sentimental and impractical moralizing. To many of them the orchard and the garden could receive attention only after major crops had been attended to. Probably most orchards grew as they could without solicitous care. Yet the proper instructions for orchard and garden cultivation were not lacking. Agricultural speakers sought to bring competent advice to county and State meetings. Thousands of words were written about planting, irrigation, fertilizing, pruning, spraying and grafting.⁶⁴ During the eighteen-fifties, the Ohio Pomological Society had sought to find and approve fine apple varieties. The Putnam, named after General Israel Putnam, was a favorite apple in Ohio as were the English Golden Russet, Smith's Cider, Genesee Chief, Roman Beauty, and Keswick Codlin.⁶⁵ Other favorites were to include the Baldwin, Northern Spy, Greening, Maiden Blush, Pippin, Rambo, Grimes Golden, Sweet Bough, Snow, and Sheep Nose.

Peach culture received attention through the years. Farmers were urged to attend peaches with care, and a grower bluntly pointed out the loss in yield when farmers would not raise peaches carefully. The Old Mixon, Elberta, Late Crawford and Solway were suggested as the best varieties for Ohio soil and climate.⁶⁶ The White Cling, Yellow Freestone and South Haven were popular. In some instances, of course, orchards were tended carefully. Trees were

⁶³ B. B. Vandervort, "Fruit on the Farm," *O. A. R.*, 1890, 367.

⁶⁴ W. W. Farnsworth, "The Orchard—Planting and Care," *O. A. R.*, 1885, 362-8.

⁶⁵ *O. A. R.*, 1859, 66-7.

⁶⁶ Perry L. Beal, "Peach Culture," *O. A. R.*, 1897, 493.

sprayed, and young fruit protected from unseasonable frosts with cheesecloth coverings. Nevertheless, the total area in orchards dropped from 1860 to 1910. In the decade of the 1860's, the average apple yield in bushels was 10,540,962; in the decade ending in 1910, it had dropped to 6,492,510. In 1870, 309,639½ bushels of peaches were raised; in 1880, 1,600,996; in 1890, 735,328; and in 1900, 1,102,185. Since the turn of the century, extensive peach orchards have been developed along Lake Erie.

In 1857, attention was drawn to grape culture in Ohio and it was said that "the culture of the vine is destined to become an important item in our industrial system."⁶⁷ At that time some three thousand acres had already been put into vineyards. As early as 1850, however, Cincinnati was known as the wine center of Ohio and Nicholas Longworth was receiving acclaim as the "father of successful wine culture in the West." In 1859, Ohio was making twice as much wine as California, which ranked second in wine-producing capacity. During the early period Zanesville was also a grape center and was growing varieties which were to be successfully grown in other regions. These grapes included the Catawba, Shaker, Herbeumont, Isabella, Delaware, Lydia, and Mottled.⁶⁸ In 1873, George W. Campbell, of Delaware, reported upon a variant of the well-known and generally cultivated Concord. This new variety, called the Lady, was a true Concord seedling and seemed "to have all the hardiness, health, vigor, and productiveness of the Concord with greatly improved quality, and a period of ripening at least two weeks earlier."⁶⁹ In 1882, prize grapes displayed at the Ohio State Fair were grown in the vicinity of Dayton, Chillicothe, Lancaster and Perrin's Mill. The only native wines to receive awards were made in Lancaster.⁷⁰ Nine years later sixty-four awards were made to grape growers.⁷¹ In 1889, 33,043 acres of grapes were grown with

⁶⁷ J. H. Klippert, "Report of the Corresponding Secretary," *O. A. R.*, 1857, 40.

⁶⁸ Jno. A. Warder, "Report on Fruits, Grapes, Etc.," *O. A. R.*, 1859, 73-4.

⁶⁹ Geo. W. Campbell, "The New Concord Seedling Grape 'Lady,'" *O. A. R.*, 1873, 552.

⁷⁰ *O. A. R.*, 1882, 129.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1891, 251-2.

an average per acre yield of 1.8 tons. The total tonnage raised for home use was 38,947 and for sale to wineries was 11,609. It was estimated that 1,934,833 gallons of wine were made.

Bees were kept throughout the State and honey sent to market or used at home. Ohio apiarists, if they wished to realize upon their investment and produce a high-quality honey, were forced to learn something of the physiology of the bee as well as know something about the comb, the hive and artificial swarming.⁷²

Dairying has long been an essential feature of Ohio agriculture. The pioneer milked a few cows and made butter and cheese for his own use. Whether emigrants to the Buckeye State knew it or not, the oldest dairying district in the United States lay in the Mohawk Valley.⁷³ In Ohio, however, the industry did not become specialized, except on the Western Reserve, until after 1850. Even in 1857 information concerning the state of dairying was difficult to find.⁷⁴ About ten years later the Western Reserve was still receiving the bulk of attention of commentators and the statement was made that even there "dairy farming has been but little introduced, and generally found to be not as profitable as other branches of husbandry."⁷⁵ The number of dairy cows, however, was constantly increasing throughout this period. In 1850, there were 544,499; in 1870, 654,390; in 1890, 794,833; and in 1900, 818,239. The preferred breeds were the Ayrshire, Shorthorn, Jersey, and the Holstein.

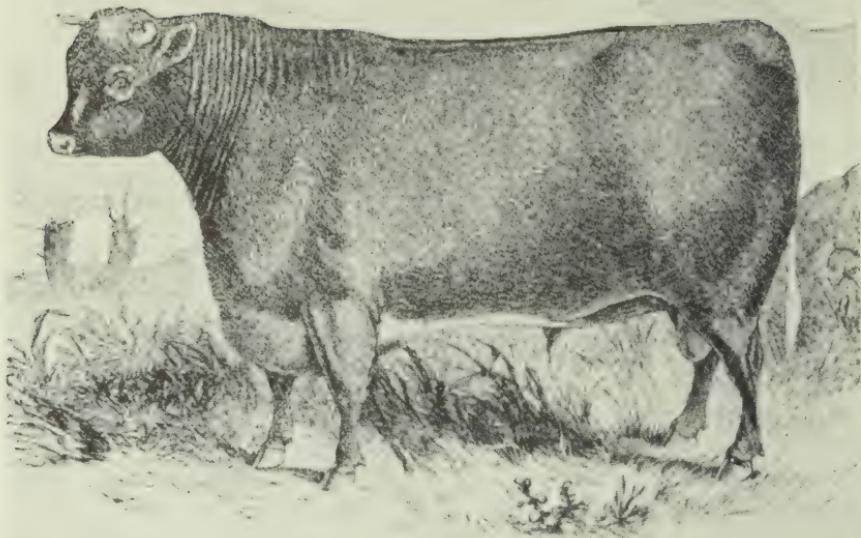
After the Civil War there was a steady increase in dairy activities. This was especially true in the western half of the State, especially in the northwestern counties, which was relatively thinly populated before 1861. The industry was also stimulated by the development of the railroad which made it possible to ship dairy products to rapidly growing urban centers. Increased markets, dairymen's associations, county institutes, and State agricultural fairs all aided the

⁷² Chas. Dadant and Son, *Langstroth on the Hive and the Honey Bee* (Hamilton, Ill., 1889), *passim*.

⁷³ X. A. Willard, "American Dairying," *O. A. R.*, 1876, 236.

⁷⁴ "The Dairy and Its Products," *O. A. R.*, 1857, 446.

⁷⁵ Anson Bartlett, "Dairy Husbandry," *O. A. R.*, 1868, 277.



4. SHORTHORN BULL, "GENERAL GRANT"; PROPERTY OF D. McMILLAN,
XENIA, OHIO

From U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture, *Report* (Washington, 1866), Plate XXI.

industry. The Ohio Dairymen's Association was formed about 1864 and the Western Reserve Dairymen's Association about 1871.

Milk, butter, and cheese were essential foodstuffs both to the farm household and to city dwellers. It is difficult to estimate the gallons of milk produced in any one year as much of it, especially in the early period, was consumed at home. Ohio farmers were urged to learn more of milk's characteristics⁷⁶ and were warned against adulteration.⁷⁷

Buttermaking on the farm did not show a decrease until the turn of the century. In 1859, over forty-eight million pounds were made at home; in 1879, over sixty-seven million pounds; in 1889, over

⁷⁶ E. Lewis Sturtevant, "Milk—Its Typical Relations," *O. A. R.*, 1873, 309-21.

⁷⁷ Henry A. Mott, "The Adulteration of Milk," *O. A. R.*, 1877, 364-405.

seventy-four million pounds; and in 1899, over seventy-nine million pounds. Thousands of farm women were churning butter. Many of them told of their experiences and offered advice before institute audiences.⁷⁸ Not all lecturers, however, were convinced that butter-making on the farm was worth while. "I take it," said a speaker, "that farmers' wives in Ohio do not care to engage in the drudgery of butter making for fun, and yet I am fully persuaded that there is little profit, and even actual loss in ordinary farm dairying."⁷⁹

Cheesemaking was another household activity early in the nineteenth century. Gradually, however, cheese manufacture shifted from the farm to the factory. Curiously enough, the amount of cheese made in 1899 was not much larger than that manufactured in 1859. From 1900 to 1910 cheese manufacturing decreased. Factories themselves decreased about twenty-five per cent during this decade.

Cheese factories began operating in Ohio toward the close of the eighteen-forties. In 1847, a concern in Trumbull County was reported to be turning out a thousand pounds a day. Other factories were operating in Ashtabula County. By 1869, farmers of the State were being told that there were real profits in cheese.⁸⁰ During the next decade cheese factories rapidly increased. They were located primarily in Ashtabula, Trumbull, Geauga, Portage, Cuyahoga and Lorain counties. In 1875, Huron, Defiance, Ashland and Williams counties had one factory each.⁸¹ Most cheese making was to concentrate in the upper northeast counties. Ohio cheese makers proposed in 1875 to manufacture a mammoth cheese at a cost of five thousand dollars to be exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial. It was to be surrounded with a silver-plated hoop and bear the State seal. By 1897 the cheese trade of Ohio was spoken of as "valuable alike to manufacturer and dealer." Dairying in general was described in glowing terms. "Go where you will throughout our

⁷⁸ Mrs. H. A. Canfield, "Essay on Butter-Making in a Private Dairy," *O. A. R.*, 1885, 442-4.

⁷⁹ B. F. Albaugh, "The Better Way in Butter Making," *O. A. R.*, 1890, 358.

⁸⁰ C. W. Horr, "Factory Cheese-Making," *O. A. R.*, 1869, 71-3.

⁸¹ "Cheese and Butter Factories of Ohio," *O. A. R.*, 1875, 444-5.

country," rhapsodized an orator, "and you will find in those localities where dairying is the leading industry a prosperous, forehanded people."⁸²

Beef cattle have interested stockbreeders throughout Ohio's history. During the decade before the Civil War, Ohio and the blue-grass regions of Kentucky constituted the chief cattle regions west of Pennsylvania. The State was ideally situated for breeding and grazing. Close to the eastern edge of the cornbelt, Ohio tapped the livestock markets of adjoining states and drove the herds to pasturage in Buckeye meadows. Fattening cattle was a lucrative business. In 1848, some twenty thousand head were fattened in Ohio and driven to Pennsylvania or New York markets. The coming of the railroad, however, put a stop to this activity.

During the eighteen-seventies the number of cattle increased throughout the State. From then until the turn of the century there was a slight decrease, and after 1900 the total number remained relatively unchanged.

Among the prominent breeds were the Shorthorns, Devons, Herefords and Durhams. The Shorthorn, probably Ohio's most popular type, was brought to the State by the Ohio Importing Company in 1834. Seven bulls and twelve cows made up the first contingent to reach the State. These bore such names as Earl of Darlington, Duke of York, Lily of the Valley of Tess, and Lady Abernethy.⁸³ For generations the Shorthorn was respected in England for milk, butter and meat. In Ohio they upheld this reputation. "The triumphs of the Shorthorns," exclaimed an enthusiastic breeder in 1890, "in the fat stock shows of the world, show them to be at least second to none as beef animals when compared with other breeds of cattle that are kept solely upon their claims as beef producers, and while we claim a larger percent of the best cuts from the carcass and a less percent of the inferior cuts, we also claim for our favorites the qualities of a fairly good milk and butter cow."⁸⁴

⁸² Wm. H. Gulbert, "Dairying," *O. A. R.*, 1890, 356.

⁸³ *O. A. R.*, 1876, 317-8.

⁸⁴ A. C. Turner, "The Shorthorn and the Farmer," *O. A. R.*, 1890, 139.

The Scioto Valley became the center of the Shorthorn industry. Shorthorn breeders and raisers formed their own association to sponsor the type. By 1884, sixty-five per cent of Ohio cattle were Shorthorns. The Jersey ranked next with nineteen per cent and was followed by Devons, Holsteins, Ayrshires, Herefords and the Polled Angus.⁸⁵ The popularity of the Shorthorn, however, began to decline, and by 1891 breeders were facing the fact that other breeds, notably the Hereford and the Devon, were forging to the front. A general price drop after the Civil War discouraged many Shorthorn dealers who sold herds in order to raise general purpose cattle. Again, the market was so crowded with the breed that prices were forced down. Hope was expressed, however, that the industry would regain its old vigor. "Take courage; cheer up; the long night is past, day is dawning," urged a Shorthorn raiser. "The decline of the Shorthorn is not permanent, so long as the human family eat beef, butter, and drink milk."⁸⁶

To offset the decline in the Shorthorn market, breeders turned their attention to the Polled Durham and suggested that this breed be mixed with Shorthorns. The object was to eliminate the horn of the Shorthorn and preserve the qualities of the Durham. This scientific breeding replaced the inferior all-purpose cow or steer of pioneer days with an animal bred for a specific function. In 1860, the cattle in Ohio numbered 1,634,740; in 1870, 1,436,217; in 1880, 1,860,186; in 1890, 1,763,387; in 1900, 1,558,729; and in 1910, 1,581,925.

The lean "landpiker," or "Razorback," hog, rooting through the underbrush and feeding upon slop, was a primary food source for the Ohio settler. Salt pork, smoked hams and fresh meat furnished many an emigrant's family with monotonous nourishment. The early hog possessed a vulgar genealogy and but little effort was made throughout the State before 1840 to breed scientifically. Hog cholera frequently ravaged stock with heavy mortality results.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Ohio Farmer*, Jan. 5, 1884.

⁸⁶ John H. Montgomery, "Paper on the Decline of the Shorthorn Interests in Ohio—Is it to be Permanent, and If So, Why?" *O. A. R.*, 1891, 181.

⁸⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 4, 1877.

Yet, as early as 1820, settlers of Butler and Warren counties had developed a hog, the Poland-China, which persisted through the years and remains a prominent breed today.⁸⁸ In 1884, forty-eight per cent of all the hogs in Ohio were Poland-Chinas. For second place, Ohioans preferred the Berkshires, followed by the Chester White and the Jersey Red.⁸⁹ The meat of the improved Berkshire was considered sweet, tender, juicy and lean marbled with very fine streaks of fat. The entire carcass was suitable for smoking.⁹⁰ In addition, much lard was rendered for export.

During the decade of the eighteen-fifties swine raising increased both in number and importance. The Civil War period showed a decrease in the number of hogs produced. This decrease, however, was general for all Ohio live stock with the exception of sheep. After the war the swine market received new impetus. The coming of better means of transportation, the increase of population, the enlarging foreign market and the development of corn areas all stimulated the industry. These favorable conditions continued during the seventies, but the following ten years showed little change. Since that time conditions have remained about the same with the exception that the hog raising areas of the State shifted from the eastern to the western counties. In 1850, the hog population stood at 1,964,770; in 1860, 2,251,653; in 1870, 1,728,968; in 1880, 3,141,333; in 1890, 3,275,922; in 1900, 3,188,563; and in 1910, 3,105,627.

The sheep industry long was extensive and profitable. By 1840, Ohio ranked as the second sheep-producing state in the Union. During the next three decades the State moved into first place. In 1880, Ohio slipped back into second place with California taking the lead. Ten years later Ohio maintained its place, but Texas took the lead. In 1900, Montana, Wyoming and New Mexico moved ahead of the Buckeye region. At the close of the first decade of the twentieth century, Ohio stood eleventh as a sheep and wool State. In general, the sheep-raising areas of the State were located along

⁸⁸ "National Convention of Swine Breeders," *O. A. R.*, 1872, 191.

⁸⁹ *Ohio Farmer*, Jan. 5, 1884.

⁹⁰ A. B. Allen, "The Berkshire Hog," *O. A. R.*, 1875, 321.



5. GROUP OF MERINO EWE TEGS; PROPERTY OF UPTON C. DEARDORFF,
TUSCARAWAS COUNTY, OHIO

From U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture, *Report* (Washington, 1866), Plate XXXII.

the eastern border, but concentrating in such counties as Carroll, Guernsey, and Belmont. The district extended as far west as the tier of counties beginning with Sandusky on the north and Vinton on the south.

The Merino, originally imported from Spain in 1802, was long a favorite.⁹¹ The breed probably arrived in Ohio sometime during the eighteen-twenties, for there is a record of a flock coming from Stark to Harrison County. Other flocks had records extending to early days.⁹² John Boggs, for example, emigrated from Pennsylvania to Shortcreek, Ohio, in 1839. He brought with him a flock of Black Top Merinos whose fleece generally averaged from two and a half

⁹¹ H. B. Converse, "Sheep and Wool Industry, Its Growth and Development from 1800 to the Present," *O. A. R.*, 1894, 352.

⁹² Andrew McFarland, "Harrison County Sheep," *O. A. R.*, 1877, 406-13.

to three pounds. The Cochran flock in Harrison County was improved by breeding a "long faced, narrow-chested, bare-bellied," Merino ram to common ewes. By 1870, about ninety per cent of Ohio's sheep were Merinos. The English mutton sheep had been introduced prior to 1850. After 1880, raisers gave more and more attention to lamb feeding and mutton sheep. The South Down was a favorite breed. The long-wool sheep gradually was gaining ground over the Merino. By 1911, the latter were in a minority.

Wool prices, of course, were of vital interest. Ohio, as has been noted, had been the center of the Nation's wool industry. Prices were steady until the eighteen-fifties, when a slump manifested itself. The Civil War, however, put new emphasis upon woolen cloths, as cotton became scarcer. In 1861, wool was selling at about thirty-eight to forty cents a pound. Three years later the price had jumped to over a dollar. The post-war period saw a reaction, however, and wool and sheep prices slumped. For the decade beginning in 1870, the total number of animals remained about the same. The next ten years saw a decided decrease in numbers, but the total picked up somewhat after 1900.

Ohio sheepmen felt the competition offered American sheep growers by foreign nations. Australian and Argentine sheep were exerting pressure during the eighteen-nineties.⁹³ In addition, sheep production of the western states and territories was forcing prices downward.

Farmers complained bitterly that sheep raising was a difficult task, demanding expert knowledge, tender care and substantial financing. The shepherd's problem was explained time and again to farmer groups. The caution that "every flock master should be a careful shepherd" was heard frequently.⁹⁴ One speaker lectured at length on "Mary's Little Lamb and its Troubles," setting forth eight specific rules for the proper care of sheep.⁹⁵ Other breeders sought to prevent and remedy the dreaded sheep scab. In 1870, there

⁹³ Julius LeMoine, "Stand By Your Sheep," *O. A. R.*, 1894, 356-7.

⁹⁴ A. T. Gamber, "The Shepherd," *O. A. R.*, 1897, 498.

⁹⁵ D. D. Deeds, "Mary's Little Lamb and its Troubles," *O. A. R.*, 1901, 641-5.

were 4,928,645 sheep in Ohio; in 1880, 4,902,486; in 1890, 4,060,-729; in 1900, 2,648,250; and in 1910, 2,890,163.

In 1861, it was said that "the necessity for clearing land and for the use of oxen" was, "to a great extent, over, and the spirit of improvement in agriculture, [which was] gradually extending to every branch of labor, seemed first to concentrate upon the improvement of the horse."⁹⁶ At that time there were about six hundred thousand horses in the State, but farmers were breeding more and better animals. The Civil War, of course, increased the demand for mounts and draft horses. Other factors encouraging horse raising included the demand for horses abroad, the increase in urban population which made dray horses necessary, the increase of horse-drawn machinery on the farm and an increase of land under cultivation.

Of course, the majority of horses during Ohio's early history was a "mixture of almost everything," but scientific breeding and raising were well under way by 1870. The popular breeds included the Morgan, Bellfounder, Messenger, Hiatoga, Black Hawk and the Flemish draft horse. In 1861, there were a few Normans, Cleveland Bays and English drafts. During the eighteen-sixties the Percheron horse was introduced, although he may not have possessed all the points of the typical French Norman. "There is no doubt," predicted a horse raiser in 1872, "that the Percheron will, to a very great extent, supplant all other strains of farm draft horses for the ordinary purposes of farming; he is rapidly taking the rank among draft horses which the *Shorthorn* has taken among beef cattle."⁹⁷ To a large extent this prediction was realized. The Percheron became a favorite. In 1880, Ohio was raising 736,478 horses. Of these about fifty-two per cent were "general purpose" animals; twenty-three per cent were draft horses; nineteen per cent were roadsters; and only six per cent were thoroughbreds.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ J. H. Klippert, "View of the Condition of Agriculture in Ohio," *O. A. R.*, 1861, xvii.

⁹⁷ "History of the Percheron Horse," *O. A. R.*, 1872, 104.

⁹⁸ *Ohio Farmer*, Jan. 5, 1884; G. E. Rich, *Artistic Horseshoeing* (New York, 1895), 129.

Horse prices varied considerably from time to time, but the cost of a good, four-year-old farm or general purpose mare or gelding, ranged from seventy-five dollars to two hundred dollars. The average price probably was around a hundred dollars. A four-year-old roadster in good condition, mare or gelding, cost from seventy-five to two hundred dollars. The average price ran around one hundred and twenty-five dollars.⁹⁹ Percheron prices varied still more as this breed was the subject of heated discussion by farmers and breeders. Some preferred the Cleveland Bay or the Clydesdale for farm work, maintaining that the Percheron which weighed from fourteen hundred to eighteen hundred pounds was too heavy for farm labor in Ohio. Other critics said that the French Norman was unwieldy and slow. Percheron champions, however, insisted that "as wagon or farm horses, I think there is nothing superior."¹⁰⁰

It was thought by some experts that horse raising was unprofitable in itself, and farmers were urged to make horse breeding an auxiliary activity. Farmers were encouraged to breed horses for city use. "In the two, four and six-horse teams drawing immense loads of freight," said a speaker before a stockbreeders' convention, "seldom do you see a horse weighing less than 1,400 pounds, and in the delivery wagons, a horse under 1,200 pounds will be the exception."¹⁰¹ Ohioans were asked to raise horses with broad rumps, long hips, wide between the forelegs, and of a good girth. Shoulders should be large, sloping well back. The horse should have a "good" eye. Horses were raised generally throughout the State. In 1890, the number produced was 880,677; in 1900, 878,205; and in 1910, 910,224.

A few thoroughbreds were raised for the track, although Ohio never equalled Kentucky as a race-horse State. It is said that Governor Allen Trimble was among the first to breed fast horses. He imported the stallion "Tariff" and several mares from Virginia.

⁹⁹ J. H. Klippert, "Condition of Agriculture in Ohio in 1876," *O. A. R.*, 1876, 627-9.

¹⁰⁰ "Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Ohio State Agricultural Convention," *O. A. R.*, 1876, 26.

¹⁰¹ Cary M. Montgomery, "How Should Farmers Breed and Rear Horses for Profit?" *O. A. R.*, 1890, 154.

Other wealthy emigrants from the Old Dominion brought blooded stock, but the practice died out. John Reber, of Fairfield County, probably revived interest in fine horses in 1855 when he purchased the famous four-mile race mare, "Fashion," and established a stock farm near Lancaster. In 1858, Reber bought one of the finest animals ever to enter the State. This was "Bonnie Scotland," the son of "Jago" and "Queen Mary." The latter was the dam of the peerless mare "Blink Bonnie" who had won the Derby, Oaks and St. Ledger.

By the eighteen-seventies and eighties, racing at the State Fair and the show of fine horses was an established practice. Horse classes for premiums usually were divided into stallions four years old and over, three-year-old stallions, mares four years old and over, draft horses, light harness horses, matched teams, general purpose horses, saddle horses, roadsters and sweepstakes. Reber's string received ribbons again and again. In 1882, for example, his bay colt, "Northland," took second in the three-year-old stallion class and his three-year-old filly, "Nellie Peyton," won the first ribbon in her division. The Clydesdale and the Norman carried away draft honors. Later the Morgan was to win many a pulling contest. Although Ohio was never a mule-raising State, about twenty thousand jacks and jennies were raised annually during the later period.

Farmers of the State faced two persistent problems. Maximum crop yield was conditioned by proper drainage and fertilization. Many husbandmen, of course, were reluctant to till by any but the pioneer hit-and-miss method. A few never embraced scientific practices; more met contemporary techniques half way; and others earnestly sought to avail themselves of the best in new devices.

After the Civil War, farmers were slowly learning the art of proper drainage, a practice little used before 1860. At first, many drains were made from timber. The process was elementary. Saplings were cut and laid in a trench and then covered. Frequently, stones took the place of timber. In some counties, such as Madison, Clark, Fayette, and Pickaway, drains were trenched with the mole plow. Gradually, however, the Ohio farmer realized the need for

more scientific and permanent drainage. Open-ditch draining was tried, as was subsoil plowing. The Michigan double plow frequently was used for this task. Farmers slowly turned, however, to underdraining with tile or brick. A farmer having experience with underdraining spoke well of it. He testified that underdraining not only furnished his stock with water, but also increased crop production.¹⁰² Before 1880, about two hundred and thirty factories in Ohio were manufacturing brick or tile drains. These were found most satisfactory. Their cost was relatively low and they gave many years of service. The cost per rod of tile draining varied from sixty cents to a dollar. Five, six and seven-inch tile was used commonly. By the turn of the century, the bulk of land was drained, ditched, or otherwise improved where such procedure was necessary.

The proper use of fertilizers constituted a major problem. Soil deterioration meant smaller crops of poor quality.¹⁰³ That, in turn, meant a decrease in farm income. In 1877, it was pointed out that the soils of Ohio were losing their fertility because of too intensive cultivation, too close stock feeding and too much indifference to replacement of needed mineral elements. A detailed plan of procedure was recommended. Farmers were urged to vary their products, to plow lightly and in the fall so as not to turn up poor earth and to permit winter snow to impart "mellowness," to pulverize the soil, to drain, to grow green crops, to use common manure on exhausted land, to fertilize with ground bone and superphosphate, to rotate crops and to sow a mixture of grasses.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, plant nutrition with a knowledge of the relation between roots and bacterial organisms was becoming generally known and available to farmers only toward the close of the century.¹⁰⁵ In fact, practical chemistry as applied to agricultural problems was in its infancy.¹⁰⁶

Individual farmers soon were writing their own prescriptions

¹⁰² "Proceedings of the Ohio State Agricultural Convention," *O. A. R.*, 1875, 105-6.

¹⁰³ J. S. Newberry, *Geological Survey of Ohio: Report of Progress in 1870* (Columbus, 1871), 313-400 for chemical survey of soils.

¹⁰⁴ M. B. Bateman, "The Deterioration of Soils in Ohio," *O. A. R.*, 1877, 282-8.

¹⁰⁵ Manly Miles, "Progress in Agricultural Science," *Popular Science Monthly* (New York), XXXVIII (1891), 291-2.

¹⁰⁶ M. Berthelot, "Science as a Factor in Agriculture," *ibid.*, XLII (1893), 483.

for fertilizers and commercial houses were manufacturing and packaging a variety of brands. Farmers used, among others, nitrate of soda, sulphate of ammonia, dried blood and Peruvian guano. By 1897, an act had been passed to regulate the manufacture and sale of commercial fertilizers. In that year the secretary of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture submitted a detailed report on commercial fertilizers and offered to make analyses of specimens sent him by farmers at a nominal cost. Four hundred and twenty-five brands were submitted by concerns all over the United States in 1897. These were all based upon the phosphates and superphosphates. Of the samples submitted, about one hundred and twenty-four were manufactured in Ohio. They bore such trade names as "Old Honesty," "Pride of Ohio," and "Lake Erie Fish Guano." Four hundred and nineteen bone and untreated organic matter fertilizers were also examined.¹⁰⁷

In 1900, Ohio farmers purchased seventy-five thousand tons of commercial fertilizers. Rural merchants maintained separate buildings for the storage of preparations based upon phosphoric acid, nitrogen and potash. So enthusiastic did farmers become over the value of these products that the director of the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station felt obliged to warn them that cow manure, in many instances, would prove equally satisfactory and much cheaper.¹⁰⁸

The extensive use of farm machinery marked Ohio agriculture after 1870. An abundance of land and a scarcity of labor paved the way for mechanical devices which would save labor. By the Civil War, the crude, home-made wooden moldboard plow, fork, cradle, flail and scythe had been replaced by modern, factory-produced implements. Obed Hussey of Cincinnati first demonstrated his reaper before enthusiastic farmers at the Hamilton County Agricultural Society fair in 1833. Four years later the Hussey reaper was being manufactured in Baltimore. The McCormick reaper had been patented in 1833. The plow had been improved by Charles

¹⁰⁷ W. W. Miller, "Commercial Fertilizers," *O. A. R.*, 1897, 277-344.

¹⁰⁸ Charles E. Thorne, "The First Century of Ohio Agriculture," *O. A. R.*, 1901, 467.

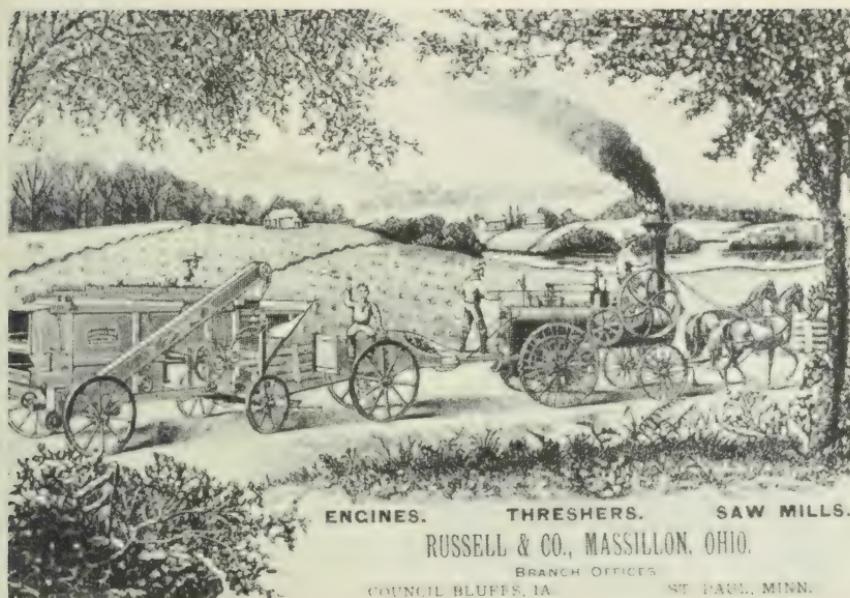
Newbold and Jethro Wood. During the eighteen-thirties John Deere had constructed the first steel plow from a saw blade. Within twenty years Ohio farmers had discarded their old cast-iron plows and were using the steel plow. During the decade before the Civil War, the steel-toothed cultivator was at work in Buckeye fields.

Corn-planters also were coming into favor by 1850, and ten years later Brown's planter was a favorite machine. During the late forties and early fifties, the wheat drill was replacing the old method of sowing by hand. The seeder became popular after 1861. The Marsh harvester was frequently used in Ohio during the next decade. Mowing machines were tried before the Civil War and became practical with the introduction of improved types, such as the Wood and Buckeye, during the sixties. By 1850, a threshing machine was on the market. Pitt's thresher and cleaner was a cumbersome affair but could do the work of many men in a shorter period.

In 1857, a trial of reapers and mowers was held at Hamilton. The entries included two reapers, four mowers, and ten combine machines, all except two manufactured in Ohio.¹⁰⁹ In the same year, sixteen plows were entered for awards in Columbus. Other agricultural implements included a corn stalk roller and cutter, wheat drill, corn cultivator, corn coverer, and rotating harrow. There was also a corn and cob mill, portable sawmill, horsepower corn sheller, stump extractor, and clover seed huller.¹¹⁰ About ten years later, the number of State Fair entries had increased strikingly, and farmers showed intense interest in the farm machinery exhibits and demonstrations. In 1874, more than twenty-six thousand plows were manufactured in Ohio. Ten years later most Ohio farmers were using one or more types of improved agricultural machinery. In 1890, about a hundred and fifty concerns exhibited farming machinery at the State Fair. All types of implements showed definite improvement. Combination machines had been improved and steam, in many instances, had taken the place of horses. Labor-

¹⁰⁹ *O. A. R.*, 1857, 91-103.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 139-40.



6. TYPICAL AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY OF THE OHIO FARM
Covington Collection, Miami University Library.

saving machinery had reduced the time spent in harvesting by as much as fifty per cent. Where once grain had been cut and brought in by hand, now pillars of smoke marked the rumbling thresher.

So much money was spent by farmers for mechanical implements that an institute speaker bluntly warned them that too much machinery was as awkward as too little. "Farmers," he said, "have indiscreetly expended hard earned dollars for many articles of high priced machinery or implements that proved of no practical use, and the money was spent and the object purchased left to decay . . . and the farmer left poorer, but, probably wiser."¹¹¹

Nevertheless, steam machinery and labor-saving implements had come to stay. Ohio agriculture was reflecting the intricacies of the Industrial Revolution, was becoming complex and was definitely asserting the close of the pioneer period.

¹¹¹ Geo. E. Scott, "Some Reformations in Agriculture," *O. A. R.*, 1897, 460.

Of the greatest importance to the farmers of Ohio was the creation of a college of agriculture known as the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College, which later became the Ohio State University College of Agriculture. The seventies saw a great growth of agricultural education stimulated by the National Government throughout the country. Under the so-called Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862, it was stipulated that State institutions receiving federal aid should teach the branches of learning related to agriculture and the mechanical arts in order to promote the liberal and practical training of the industrial classes.

Dr. Norton S. Townshend, president of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture, was enthusiastic over the establishment of an agricultural college in the State. When in 1870, the legislature passed an act providing for the location and organization of such an institution, Townshend became a member of the first Board of Trustees. He also became professor of agriculture and head of the department. A farm had been purchased for practical demonstration purposes, money was appropriated for the securing of live stock, implements, seeds, and construction work. Ohio manufacturers indicated their interest by donating a combined reaper and mower, a double-shovel plow, and other items.

The requirements of admission to the school were a good grammar school education, including the elements of algebra. A three-year curriculum was decided upon, and the courses of study included training in soils, the history of agriculture, field crops, draining and irrigation, fruit growing, dairying and wool and sheep husbandry. The third year was devoted primarily to the anatomy of domestic animals, diseases of stock, and pests of the farm. Farm management also was taught. When the school opened in 1873, twenty-five students were admitted.

Yet all did not go well with Ohio's first attempts at farmer education. There was difficulty over the subjects included in the curriculum; there was opposition to the project on the part of some agriculturists; and there were the troubles of management. When a farm foreman entered upon his duties in 1877, he found the farm

very inadequately equipped with buildings, teams and implements, practically undrained, and with no working capital. "The live stock of the farm," he continued, "consisted of five horses, two of them a worn-out team transferred from another institution, as many cows, and a few steers and calves." Townshend was expected to so manage the farm as to make its income pay, not only for improvements, but also to furnish funds for experimental research. In addition, he was required to teach the applications of science to agriculture, agronomy, animal husbandry, dairying, horticulture, veterinary medicine, botany, veterinary anatomy and surgery, and vegetable physiology.

The change in name of the institution in 1878 to the Ohio State University complicated the agricultural program still further. Yet it carried on, although there were then only eighteen men enrolled. Successive reorganizations and additional financial aid from the State gradually changed the picture from the primitive pioneer educational planning to modern techniques. During the following decades new buildings were added, the curriculum was altered, additional faculty members were hired, and an experimental station was put into operation. The first class was graduated in 1885. A dairy school went into operation during the nineties. By 1896, facilities for teaching had become so improved that much of the farmer opposition had died away and enrollment was doubling. In 1902, a summer school of agriculture was first attempted. From that time the College of Agriculture was assured of the friendship and support of the State.¹¹²

Among Ohio's foremost agricultural lecturers and authors during the late seventies and early eighties was Waldo F. Brown, a practical farmer of Butler County. Brown contributed scores of articles to journals under the pen name of "Agricola," "Solomon Smith" and "Squire Bung." He described Buckeye farmers as belonging to at least three types. There was first of all the shiftless farmer whose lands, barns and live stock were run-down and poorly

¹¹² Thomas C. Mendenhall, ed., *History of The Ohio State University* (Columbus, 1920), I, part 3, *passim*.

managed. Brown called him "Peter Poverty." Next was the "Sam Skinsoil" type who made money only by taking the cream off half a dozen farms and then moving on to unexhausted land. "William Wealthy" was careful, successful and hard-working who kept his land and stock in good condition, treated his home and children with respect and made money. Brown, however, pointed out carefully that money-making was not a goal in itself for farmers and he urged them to engage in cultural and intellectual activities so that they might live a rich life.¹¹³

In journals such as *Farm and Fireside*, the *Ohio Farmer* and the *Christian Union*, Brown printed sage advice concerning timber culture, hints to workingmen, comments upon wheat raising, and suggestions for duties during slack times.¹¹⁴ A leading figure in the Oxford Practical Farmers' Club, Brown prepared programs dealing with erosion and conservation, crop rotation and the advantages of manure over commercial fertilizers. He kept a diary beginning in 1857 from which he drew many of the comparisons that made his articles and lectures both valuable and interesting. Born in Massachusetts, Brown emigrated to Ohio with his parents in 1848 and settled in Butler County. He had a semester's schooling at Miami University and at the age of twenty-four began to farm on shares with his father. In 1872, he became farm editor of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* and later became associate editor of the *Ohio Farmer*. In 1884, he published one of the most widely used agricultural handbooks in the country, *The Farm and Stock Cyclopædia*. In addition to his treatises on agriculture, Brown also wrote informative articles for juveniles. His home, "East View," became known throughout Ohio as a model farm and hundreds of agriculturists visited there to observe their host's rural practices.

The farmer's day began early. Stock was watered, cows milked, cattle and hogs fed, and stalls and barns cleaned. After breakfast about five o'clock, work began in the fields. When the noon dinner bell rang, farmers and hired men drove in for a heavy meal of meat,

¹¹³ Waldo F. Brown, *Success in Farming* (Springfield, Ohio, 1881), 9-11.

¹¹⁴ Waldo F. Brown, Scrapbooks, Covington Collection (Miami University Library).

potatoes, bread and butter, two or three vegetables and cake or pie, or both. Coffee, in heavy earthenware mugs, was served again and again. A long afternoon with plow, rake, or harrow brought early supper and evening chores. After dishes had been cleared, children gathered around the table to do their sums while their father read a newspaper and their mother mended socks or put patches on overalls. An oil lamp, suspended on a chain, shed soft light.

The seasons dictated labor on the farm. Each month brought new tasks. In 1874, the *Ohio Farmer* published lists of these types of work. February, for example, was the time to haul out manure from barns and to dig out muck in swamps; in March, winter wheat was rolled and spring wheat sowed; young lambs were cared for in April and early potatoes were planted; in May corn was planted and farm hands were hired "by the season"; oats and rye were sowed in June, gardens weeded, and orchards trimmed; July saw garden work increase; in August threshing began; October was the month for shocking corn; and the short days and long evenings of November and December were utilized for repairing fences, mending harness, and reading and studying. There was always wood to be cut and brush to be cleared. "A good farmer," it was said, "can be told from the way in which he handles the pitch-fork."¹¹⁵

No matter how carefully a farmer kept books—and few did—it is doubtful if the average man really knew from one year to another what his income was. In 1857, it was estimated that the net income derived from agriculture over the entire State was nine and one-half per cent.¹¹⁶ Yet this figure was only an approximation based upon inconclusive evidence. By 1873, no attempts were being made to collect statistics which would reveal either gross or net agricultural incomes. Probably the actual cash income from many Ohio farms did not total five hundred dollars annually, but there were successful cattle breeders and grain raisers who made much more. In 1890, a lecturer pointed out that there were two types of profits

¹¹⁵ *Ohio Farmer*, Jan. 10, 1874.

¹¹⁶ Ohio Secretary of State, *Annual Report, 1857* (Columbus, 1858), 21. Hereafter cited as *Ohio Stat.*

on the farm. The first could be represented in dollars and cents, and the second consisted of "those advantages or consequences which, however, valuable, do not revert to us in that form, and because of this, are in a measure lost sight of, are less highly valued."¹¹⁷

Many farmers, agreeing with Grange agitators and knowing the low price of farm products and the high price of manufactured goods and caught in the web of railway freight rates and faring worse than the man who fell among thieves between Jerusalem and Jericho, echoed the belief that they were becoming the "most oppressed, the hardest worked, and the poorest paid" of any economic group.¹¹⁸ In 1874, an experienced farm hand was paid \$1.03 per summer day if he were furnished with board and \$1.48 if he were not. During winter months farm laborers received ninety cents with board and \$1.25 without board.¹¹⁹ "The farmer who would woo prosperity," commented one analyst, "with any hope of winning her must live within his means. The American farmer must face economic conditions as they are and pay for success the price which they require."¹²⁰

There is little doubt but that Ohio farmers might have gained additional money surpluses from 1873 to 1900 had they been willing to farm more carefully and had they watched their rural economics more closely. Institute speakers again and again urged those farmers who heard them to "bring up run-down farms." A run-down farm was described as one which "through neglect, bad management, or constant cropping" had lost a large part of its natural fertility. The prescription was relatively simple: give the run-down farm a thorough drainage; use commercial fertilizers; pulverize soil before planting; rotate crops, first year, corn, then oats, then wheat, and then seed to clover; and finally use the manure pile to fertilize as it is a "farmer's bank."

¹¹⁷ *O. A. R.*, 1890, 329.

¹¹⁸ Edward W. Martin, *History of the Grange Movement, or, the Farmer's War Against Monopolies* (Philadelphia, 1873), 289.

¹¹⁹ Edward Young, *Labor in Europe and America* (Philadelphia, 1875), 739.

¹²⁰ C. F. Emerick, "An Analysis of Agricultural Discontent in the United States," *Political Science Quarterly* (New York), XII (1897), 102, 103.

Despite educational attempts, some farms were slovenly and poorly managed. Machinery stood uncovered in barn lots to rust; out-buildings needed paint and repairing; chickens tracked across porches; and fields were tilled according to methods long discarded. Pumps creaked, wallpaper hung loose and grimy urchins, loud with croup, scrambled through high frontyard grass. The well-planned residences, "ornamented by grassy lawns, with shrubs and ornamental trees," existed primarily among a small, high-income group of farmers, not among the many tenants who worked so much of the land.¹²¹ It was shown that a large number of Ohio farmers "realize no more from their farms, taking one year with another, than the labors of themselves and families would command in the market, leaving no margin for interest on the money invested."

The implication, of course, was that farmers did not make sufficient money to keep their property in good repair. Sometimes the self-abasement displayed by ruralists of the poverty-stricken school was ludicrous. "As our gains are and must ever be but moderate," mourned a speaker, "we must set our faces against all expenditure for mere show, in dress, in furniture and in houses."¹²² Yet an Ohio farmer was never happier than when he could say gratefully: "Stock has wintered easily and well, fruit of all kinds has escaped, and the promise of a favored seed time and abundant harvest were never better."¹²³

When farmers were not lugubrious about their income, they were sad about their many other misfortunes. They complained that the best soil was deteriorated by cultivation, and they described the bugs and insects which ravaged their crops:

"Again, farm and garden crops are seen to be liable to utter destruction by the ravages of insects; the wheat of some regions is destroyed by the Hessian fly, in other regions by the wheat midge. The corn crop has many enemies, among them cut worms and wire

¹²¹ A. B. Crowell to Giles Richards, Madison County, Ohio, Dec. 18, 1851, Richards MSS. (Miami University Library); *O. A. R.*, 1873, 480-6.

¹²² *O. A. R.*, 1873, 480-6.

¹²³ *Cleveland Leader*, May 3, 1870.

worms are especially injurious. The potato, an important esculent, especially in the Northern States, after being swept out of cultivation by the Peronospora, finds an equally relentless foe in the Colorado beetle. The hay crop, the dependence for the winter food of stock through half our State, is sometimes devoured by locusts. The cotton crop, if it escapes the caterpillar, is liable to be spoiled by the boll worm, and even tobacco does not escape. Innumerable insects prey upon almost all kinds of fruits; while the chinch bug and army worm are in some States ready to take any thing that other depredators have left. More than all this, our domestic animals are the subjects of many serious diseases, some of which prevail epizootically, others are sporadic. Horses have their visitations of epizootic catarrh. Cattle have pleuro-pneumonia and Spanish or Texas Fever. Sheep are subject to the lung worm disease, hogs to cholera; and besides these, and many more that visit us occasionally, there are others but little less fatal that never leave us, and make a heavy drawback upon the farmer's profit."¹²⁴

The farm wife frequently believed that it was her duty "to do more than she is able to do."¹²⁵ She bore large families, labored over cooking stoves, bent over preserving kettles, churned butter, packed cold meats, served harvester dinners, and washed, swept and dusted. She did two days' work in one and had to like it. She saw that instead of the farmer or his wife "being first in all his relations of life, the farm has been first, and when you see that, you see a slave in chains." She hoped that the farmer of 1900 was not going to carry the pocketbook and "let his wife carry all the coal and ashes and slop."¹²⁶ She had few pleasures, and they were simple and inexpensive. Vick's *Illustrated Catalogue and Floral Guide*, as well as other seed and garden lists, intrigued her with highly-colored covers.¹²⁷ Butterick's fashions, appearing in the *Ohio Farmer* opened vistas of the world of fashions, and magazines, *Demorest's Monthly Magazine*, *Wood's Household Magazine*, *Happy Hours Magazine* and

¹²⁴ *O. A. R.*, 1876, 300-9.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1880, 439.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1890, 160, 401.

¹²⁷ Millersburg (Ohio) *Holmes County Farmer*, Jan. 13, 1870.

even *Oliver Optic's Magazine*, furnished diversion.¹²⁸ After the establishment of mail order houses, and the introduction of rural free delivery, the farm's isolation was lessened by an increase in advertising matter and circular mail. Yet some farmers were apathetic and neglected to put up mail boxes. Others preferred to continue to go to town for their mail.¹²⁹

Rural life for the farmer's wife was not all drab, uninteresting and dull. In 1895, an enthusiastic woman writer commented upon the great progress made in the farm home. She listed the carpets of rich design, the well-selected books, the modern gas stove and the "modern spring mattress which has taken the place of the forty-pound feather tick, because the new woman has ceased to pick the geese."¹³⁰ A female lecturer advocated a really good etching to replace flashy prints or lurid chromos and condemned "gaudy, flashy, and ornate" furniture.¹³¹ Wallpapers, indeed, altered rural interiors during the garish nineties. Women were intrigued by bedroom papers in dainty ocean and pink tones with small, lively floral designs; library papers were of soft-toned, cheerful greens with gold designs; and dining rooms were papered in a "peculiar, clear, but not glaring shade of red." Tulip designs and baskets of flowers became popular.¹³²

With such colorful backgrounds, handsome, solid walnut parlor sets, trimmed in embossed plush or black, hair cloth, showed to best advantage.¹³³ Black marbleized clocks of fancy design and art bric-a-brac added nineteenth-century enchantment to parlors. Iron beds with brass trimmings sold for \$4.65, and bedroom rockers of solid oak with cane seats cost ninety-eight cents.¹³⁴ Some kitchens sported linoleum on the floor and oil cloth on shelves and tables. Kitchen cabinets were replacing built-in bins and shelves.

By 1890 the spirit of emancipation and the belief in women's

¹²⁸ *Ohio Farmer*, Apr. 11, 1874.

¹²⁹ *Oxford (Ohio) News*, Oct. 23, 1896.

¹³⁰ *O. A. R.*, 1895, 443.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 1898, 589.

¹³² *Oxford News*, Dec. 10, 1897.

¹³³ *Ohio Farmer*, Jan. 18, 1890.

¹³⁴ *Columbus Dispatch*, Jan. 4, 1897.

rights which were gaining strength throughout the Nation began to be felt in Ohio among a small group of rural women. Some expressed themselves vigorously in print. They maintained that the social standing of women had increased, that farm women liked more society and leisure than they did twenty-five years earlier, and that "women are gradually waking up all over the land and demanding more rights and privileges."¹³⁵ At the same time, the revolt of the females began to be noticed in grange programs. Women were now debating on subjects such as: "Resolved: that intelligence and not sex should determine as to who should have the right of franchise."¹³⁶ Moreover, membership in cooking and sewing clubs, Chautauqua circles and King's Daughters groups was gradually increasing. It was not until after 1900, however, that the new freedom reached most Ohio women either in the rural or the urban areas.

The growth of industrial life and the development of large cities were destined to influence the farmer's children. Many a farm boy during the decades after the Civil War lived the same type of rural life, did the same chores, and pushed his work before his work pushed him as had lads for generations before him.¹³⁷ Small-town life in the midst of an agricultural district has been described effectively by Sherwood Anderson¹³⁸ while Louis Bromfield and Thomas Boyd have interpreted Buckeye rural life.¹³⁹ Youths worked hard.¹⁴⁰ Letters to country newspapers show children tramping through winter mud to school; helping their fathers feed cattle and sheep; gathering wood and aiding the work of the sugar camp; and cooking for three men, milking eight cows, and washing and ironing.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ *Ohio Farmer*, Feb. 22; Mar. 1, 8, 29; Apr. 12, 1890.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1890.

¹³⁷ William H. Venable, *A Buckeye Boyhood* (Cincinnati, 1911), Chap. VIII.

¹³⁸ Sherwood Anderson, *Winesburg, Ohio* (New York, 1919).

¹³⁹ Louis Bromfield, *The Farm* (New York, 1933); Thomas Boyd, *Samuel Drummond* (New York, 1925).

¹⁴⁰ Emerson Price, *Inn of That Journey* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), for a realistic account of a boy's life on an Ohio farm and in a small town. More romantic interpretations of Ohio farm life are found in Jake Falstaff (Herman Fetzer), *Jacoby's Corners* (New York, 1940), and *The Big Snow* (New York, 1941). Many of these tales first appeared in the *Cleveland Press*.

¹⁴¹ *Ohio Farmer*, Apr. 10, 17, 1880; Jan. 11, Aug. 16, 1890.

No lament of the country boy is better expressed than in the following verse which contrasts town and farm.¹⁴²

“While they’re riding in their coaches fine,
Or lounging on soft rugs,
The country boys are pulling weeds,
Or mashing tater bugs;
But of all mean jobs upon a farm,
And I can not mention half,
The meanest thing is trying to wean
A well-developed calf.”

Parents were much disturbed at farm boys and girls who wished to forsake the farm and try their fortune in the city. A popular song, “Don’t You Go, Tommy,” was known throughout Ohio. It was the plea of aged parents to keep their son upon the old farm and was typical of literature and music of the period.¹⁴³ In 1880, an editor said that not all boys born upon a farm should remain¹⁴⁴ and in succeeding years innumerable suggestions were offered to make farm life attractive. The migration to the city, however, continued. Industry seemed to offer some farm sons and daughters greater opportunity than did agriculture. “No city boy,” wrote a firm friend of the farm in 1895, “has ever been made President of the United States.”¹⁴⁵

Threshing, of course, was for many farmers the peak of a season’s activity. A typical threshing day started at three o’clock in the morning when the farmer rose, did his chores, fired the thresher’s engine, and then sat down at a hurried five-o’clock breakfast. By six o’clock, threshing crews recruited from neighboring farms, were at work, six to a straw stack, two to cut bands, five to pitch the sheaves from the stacks on either side, one to drive the team that drew the wheat

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, July 12, 1890.

¹⁴³ Philip D. Jordan and Lillian Kessler, *Songs of Yesterday* (New York, 1941), Chap. III.

¹⁴⁴ *Ohio Farmer*, Apr. 10, 1880.

¹⁴⁵ Martin Welker, “Farm Life in Central Ohio Sixty Years Ago,” Western Reserve Historical Society, *Tracts* (Cleveland), IV (1895), No. 86, p. 84.

to the depot, and one to hold sacks and carry them away as fast as they were filled. It was not uncommon when the dinner-bell rang to have three hundred bushels threshed. With eyes red and half-blinded by dust and sweat and with backs covered with chaff and dust, men trooped to tin wash basins and from there into kitchen and dining room to eat. For days the women had been preparing for this moment. A typical threshing dinner described by an Ohio farmer consisted of roast beef, baked beans, green beans, potatoes, pickles, fruit, coffee, milk, pies and cakes. By five o'clock threshing was over for another year.¹⁴⁶

Within the sixty years from 1830 to 1890 a veritable revolution took place on the Ohio farm. The palace car took the place of the lumbering stagecoach, the freight train replaced the covered wagon, the elegant buggy and carriage superseded the saddle horse, and the bicycle offered a novel type of transportation; the sickle, scythe and cradle fell before the efficient reaper, binder and mower, and the flail and the sheet before the thresher and separator; the old Bar-shear to the sulky plow; hand-sowing and planting to the seeder and check-row planter; the hand rake to the sulky horse rake; the fork and stick to the tedder; and the hay-loader and fork and railway for loading and moving hay took the place of the hay fork and human strength. The sulky cultivator proved more valuable than the hoe, and the Acme and disk superseded the old triangle harrow. Even the incubator crowded the business of the pioneer setting hen. The carding machine took the place of the hand card, and the steam loom made archaic the old spinning jenny. The old lard Betty lamp was discarded in favor of the elegant parlor lamp and burner, and the common match replaced the flint and steel of frontier times. The sewing machine and the knitting machine offered more advantages than the hand needle and the knitting needles. In the farmer's yard the wind pump did better duty than the old oaken bucket that hung in the well.¹⁴⁷ Still farmers continued to understand the four basic necessities of agriculture: fertility, tools, industry and houses.

¹⁴⁶ Waldo F. Brown, Scrapbooks, Covington Collection (Miami University Library).

¹⁴⁷ Welker, "Farm Life in Central Ohio Sixty Years Ago," 78.

They also understood that land must produce enough to defray all the expenses of cultivation and more in order to supply the inevitable wants of the labor employed on it and to pay the taxes. Less than this was disaster.¹⁴⁸

In an attempt to avert economic distress, many Ohio farmers became members of the Patrons of Husbandry, popularly known as the Grange, which had been organized by a clerk in the United States Department of Agriculture in 1867 who wished to form an order to relieve agrarian discontent. Although the Grange movement moved slowly at first, it was firmly established by 1873 when granges had been established in thirty states with a total membership of about a million and a half. By 1875, 103 grange deputies had organized more than nine hundred local grange organizations throughout Ohio.¹⁴⁹

Among the pioneers interested in the Grange movement was Anson Bartlett of North Madison, Ohio, who inquired in 1867 about the nature of the society and who not only organized one of the first granges in the State, but also was instrumental in shaping the national policy of the order. The first regularly organized Ohio grange was established at Fredonia on April 16, 1868, by the founder of the society, O. H. Kelley. From Fredonia, Kelley went to Columbus where he talked with Joseph Dwyer and with J. H. Klippert who warned him that it would be best to "make the officers of our Granges entirely of farmers, and not outsiders, else there will be jealousy, which should be guarded against."¹⁵⁰ George E. Blakslee, editor of the *Ohio Farmer*, told Kelley that the Grange would be supported in Ohio if the order could protect farmers from patent-right swindlers. Both the *Farmers' Chronicle*, Columbus, and the *Ohio Farmer* promised Kelley editorial support. The Grange movement continued to grow in Ohio during the eighties and subsided during the following decade.

¹⁴⁸ John Taylor, "The Necessities, Competency and Profit of Agriculture," *Niles' Register* (Baltimore), XV (1818), 177.

¹⁴⁹ O. H. Kelley, *Origin and Progress of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1895), 439.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

The spirit of the movement was aptly expressed by Kelley in a letter to Bartlett in 1867. "I long to see the great army of producers in our country," wrote Kelley, "turn their eyes up from their work; stir up those brains, now mere machines; get them in motion in the right direction; make them discard their old almanacs and signs of the moon; and just imagine what a volcanic eruption we can purpose in this age. Everything is progressing. Why not the farmers?"¹⁵¹ Imbued by this philosophy Kelley designed the Grange as a secret organization, modeled upon the Masonic order, but permitted women as well as men to become members. Of the eleven offices in a grange three could be filled by women who became a "Ceres," "Pomona," or "Flora."

Granges sought strenuously to improve a farmer's social and economic position. In an attempt to reduce the cost of manufactured goods, the Grange advocated both cooperative buying and selling. In 1872, the first mail-order house, Montgomery Ward and Company, was established in Chicago "to meet the wants of the Patrons of Husbandry."¹⁵² The Panic of 1873 stimulated the movement toward cooperative purchasing, but when prices began to rise after the panic and times became better, this trend gradually declined. It was said that at one time or another, a grange store existed in practically every county in Ohio. Late in the seventies, a "Cincinnati Grange Supply House" was established. In addition to cooperative enterprise, the Grange also advocated that farmers take more part in politics, but at no time did a third-party movement composed exclusively of members of the Grange seriously challenge the supremacy of the old-line parties. Third-party movements, however, did succeed upon occasion in frightening both the Republican and Democratic parties and did win for themselves concessions that might otherwise have been denied them.

In particular, the Grange movement made itself felt in railroad legislation. Farmers in Ohio and elsewhere were convinced that

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁵² Quoted in Allan Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878* (New York, 1927), 172.

freight rates were too high for the small freighter and that railroads were monopolies responsible for much agrarian discontent. In Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa, Granger legislation was enacted that was designed to regulate railroads and rates. Ohio, however, never passed as stringent regulatory measures as did Minnesota, for example, although there is no doubt that railroad legislation in the State did feel the effects of the trend throughout the Nation. The Ohio State Grange, throughout its active period, also condemned the exemption of railroad property from taxation; advocated the taxation of church property; came out in favor of an income tax in 1873; aided in the enactment of railroad legislation that put a maximum freight rate of five cents per ton mile and contained a "short haul" clause; supported the temperance cause throughout the State and especially in Xenia in 1874; and three years later investigated conditions and methods of instruction at the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College.¹⁵³ During the nineteen-twenties, the Ohio State Grange opposed an amendment to the federal Constitution which hoped to make child labor illegal.

Long after the controversy over railroad legislation had died, granges throughout Ohio continued to function as social groups. Indeed, the cultural and intellectual phases of the organization seemed to become paramount. Members gathered for box-suppers, for musical entertainment, and for literary pursuits. Debates were quite in order. Upon occasion, of course, matters of business came up for discussion, but many problems were settled by men who lounged in groups quietly talking while their wives and children enjoyed a more formal program. In the main, however, the Grange made its greatest contribution to Ohio life as a cultural and educational institution which made the Buckeye farmer less isolated, offered him an opportunity to exchange his thoughts with those of other members, enlarged his vision, and gave him a feeling of importance and of worth.

As the nineteenth century closed, Ohio agriculture had come to

¹⁵³ Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement, 1870-1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), 105, 117, 201, 298.

maturity. In several instances, crop and stock production had reached their peak during the seventies or eighties. New breeds had been developed and new methods of cultivation attempted. The State had increased in population and the western section had increased in number of settlers. The introduction of farm machinery had revolutionized pioneer methods of production and cultivation. Farm associations, agricultural fairs and county institutes had all attempted to train the husbandman in his art. The development of transportation, canals and railroads had made easier the trips to market and had brought manufactured goods to the farm. Ohioans were learning that "any fool" could not farm¹⁵⁴ and were sure that just as the last century had been one of mechanical achievement, the next was to be one of intellectual progress.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ James H. Canfield, "Any Fool Can Farm," *O. A. R.*, 1895, 274-7.

¹⁵⁵ Thorne, "The First Century of Ohio Agriculture," 468.

Transportation and Communication

CANALS and railways stimulated Ohio agriculture and gave impetus to manufacturing. These nineteenth-century modes of travel made the ox-cart and the covered wagon archaic and swept the people of Ohio into a faster and more efficient tempo of life. For years the depot with its clicking telegraph key was the place of contact with the outside world. Small boys and loafers watched wood-burning locomotives snort in and scurried to spread the news which the station agent received over the "lightning wire." Ambitious urchins dreamed of owning a freight packet on the Ohio canals. Some actually drove matched teams along the tow-paths and fought savagely with other youthful drivers for right-of-way through lazy locks. By the turn of the century, however, the romance had fled from canaling and railroading. The former had almost entirely disappeared in Ohio and the latter had become mechanically intricate and financially complicated.

The Civil War decade stimulated railroad promotion and building, although progress was not what it had been during the previous ten years. Greatest advancement was made in the organization and construction of street railways. From 1854 to 1867 some twenty-six street car companies were incorporated in Ohio.¹ Many of these did not actually lay rails or issue tickets, but they did sell stock and bonds to unsuspecting investors who believed that the growth of the city and the modern means of transportation furnished excellent opportunity for quick profits. "The street railroad people," dryly commented an editor, "and capitalists interested in the growth

¹ Ohio Commissioner of Railroads and Telegraphs, *Thirty-Third Annual Report* (Columbus, [1901]), 81. Hereafter cited as *Ohio Rail. Rep.*

and prosperity of the city, propose great things for us, but it remains to be seen how much they will be helped or how much hindered by the local legislation that must be had before any of the schemes can be actualized."² Chillicothe residents, in 1873, had failed to display much enthusiasm when a street railway project was announced there.³

By 1870, thirty-two railroads were operating in Ohio with total capital stock paid in of one hundred and ninety-six million dollars. Eleven new railroads in Toledo in 1870 caused Cleveland much concern as that city feared that Toledo might outstrip her in hauling facilities.⁴ Railroading, of course, had been stimulated by the dramatic completion of the Union Pacific on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, Utah Territory. "All felt," said the Ohio railway commissioner, "that a new bond of union was established between the golden shores of the Pacific and the Middle and Atlantic States, never again to be broken."⁵ Among the important Ohio roads operating at the time the Union Pacific was completed were the Atlantic and Great Western Railway and the Cleveland and Mahoning Railroad which operated as one line and whose main tracks ran from Salamanca to Dayton; the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway which extended from Chicago to Erie, Pennsylvania, and which had branch lines touching Sandusky, Graytown, and Toledo in Ohio; and the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati and Indianapolis Railway with 257 miles of single main track in Ohio and a fifty-mile branch to Springfield.⁶ Such networks stimulated Buckeye commerce and business tremendously.

An examination of a railroad map of 1875 reveals that the great manufacturing centers—Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Springfield, Columbus, Toledo—were tied to the rest of the State and to the Nation by rail. Lines tapped the rich coal mines of the Mahoning Valley and penetrated the farming districts of the Miami and

² *Cincinnati Commercial*, Nov. 2, 1879.

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1873.

⁴ *Cleveland Leader*, Mar. 15, 1870.

⁵ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1869, 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1870, II, 252-3.





RAILROAD MAP
OF

OHIO

COMMISSIONER OF RAILROADS

Scioto valleys. No longer was there reason for the farmer or manufacturer to feel isolated. His produce could be shipped anywhere, and manufactured goods could be delivered almost to his door. A network of humming rails had integrated the economic interests of the State.⁷ Yet in 1873, the only railroad running from Cincinnati to New York which carried passengers through without the inconvenience of changing cars was the Atlantic and Great Western.⁸ Cleveland citizens in the same year defeated a proposition to issue bonds to the amount of one million dollars which would help construct the Ohio Valley Road whose purpose was to tap the coal fields of the State and thus reduce the cost per ton along Lake Erie.⁹ While Cincinnati was debating the merits of building a union depot and of supporting the recently opened Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, a curious citizen counted the types of vehicles passing a given point on Second Street within a period of ten hours. His calculations were startling and showed transportation in the Queen City to be in a transitional period. He saw the following: 144 coal carts, 961 drays, 286 two-ox teams, 201 two-horse teams, 128 four-ox teams, 123 four-horse teams, 15 six-ox teams, 477 one-horse vehicles, and 2 one-engine wagons and one hose reel.¹⁰ Ohio had come of age when the whistle of the engine on a fast freight punctuated the night with raucous blasts. By 1900, there were about a hundred railroad lines operating wholly or partially within the State of Ohio.

Growth of railway transportation provoked innumerable acts designed to curb and to sponsor the successor of the canal. Indeed, railroad legislation became one of the most intricate branches of legislative law. The general railroad laws of Ohio probably began with an act of March 24, 1837, which authorized loans by the State of Ohio to railroad companies. Two years later the legislature enacted a bill for the protection of railroads, and in 1840 another act prohibited persons to "draw or drive any wagon, carriage, cart,

⁷ "Railroad Map of Ohio," *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1876, facing title page.

⁸ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 2, 1873.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1873.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1873.

coach, gig, or other two or four wheeled vehicle" on or between the tracks under penalty of fine.¹¹

Other laws authorized county commissioners to subscribe to the capital stock of railroads, turnpike roads, or other incorporated companies. Cincinnati was vitally interested in a bill authorizing counties, cities and incorporated villages and townships to build railroads and to lease or operate them. The Queen City wished to tap the southern area by building a railroad into the Bluegrass State. This was accomplished early in 1873 when, as a first step, a preliminary survey of the Cincinnati Southern Railway was made.¹² About the same time the first through train from Baltimore to the Ohio River passed through Cincinnati on the Chesapeake and Ohio tracks.¹³ Meanwhile, discussion of a southern road continued to agitate Cincinnati businessmen, financiers and editors. The Queen City finally decided to build its own line into the South from Cincinnati to Chattanooga and to control it entirely. Public sentiment, however, moved slowly and even opposed the construction of a union depot on the grounds that similar structures were not used in New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere.¹⁴ When Cincinnati finally decided to build the Southern and keep it under city control, the Cleveland *Leader* said a sum of sixteen million dollars would be necessary to float the deal.¹⁵ The Southern, however, justified in years to come its initial cost. Even Cleveland profited, for iron workers there had received huge construction orders.¹⁶

Laws were passed regulating the speed of trains within the limits of city, town, or village. Farmers along rights-of-way were prohibited from allowing live stock to enter any railroad enclosure. Railroads, in turn, were obliged to erect fences and build stock-guards. The legislature insisted that roads place adequate stoves and lighting systems in their coaches for the safety and comfort of passengers.

¹¹ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1870, I, 11, 12.

¹² *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 15, 1873; Charles G. Hall, *The Cincinnati Southern Railway* (Cincinnati, 1902), *passim*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 30; Feb. 2, 1873; Nov. 8, 1879.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1873; Nov. 3, 1876.

¹⁵ *Cleveland Leader*, Feb. 3, 1873; *Cincinnati Commercial*, Nov. 3, 1879.

¹⁶ *Cleveland Leader*, Feb. 25, 1873; *Cincinnati Gazette*, June 7, 1879.

In 1852, an act authorized railroads to lay track of uniform gauge.¹⁷ The question of proper gauge made trouble for years. In 1877, the Commissioner of Railroads pointed out that the gauge of earlier times, known as the Old Ohio Gauge, was four feet, ten inches. East and west of Ohio the standard gauge was four feet, eight and a half inches. Trains, he said, were imperiled in Ohio because of various track standards.¹⁸

The period from 1879 to 1883 was one of rapid railroad construction. This unparalleled growth was exemplified by the swiftness with which lines moved into Columbus. In 1858, only four railroads in a semi-completed state touched Columbus although many other lines existed on paper. In 1908, the city had eighteen steam railroads, eight electric suburban lines, and had other transportation facilities under construction. One of the most useful lines reaching Columbus was the Hocking Valley System that stretched northward to Lake Erie, southward to the Ohio River, and tapped the resources of the Muskingum Valley. By 1870 this line reached from Columbus to Athens with a branch into the coal district at New Straitsville. Three years later the line was in operation from Columbus to Toledo. Successive reorganizations during the next two decades finally resulted in the Hocking Valley Railroad Company in 1899 which was able to haul coal from Virginia and southern Ohio to Toledo, Cleveland and other lake ports. The Hocking was the longest line of railway entirely within the State and was given over primarily to carrying bituminous coal, coke, steel, iron, stone, lime and manufactured products.¹⁹

The legislature authorized the Board of Public Works to grant or lease the south bank of the Six-Mile Reservoir in Paulding County to the Paulding and Antwerp Railroad Company and to lease to the Toledo and Grand Rapids Railroad Company canal land in Toledo. In 1881, the right-of-way was granted the Cincinnati and Eastern Railway on the berme of the Ohio Canal in Scioto

¹⁷ *Ohio Rail. Rep.* 1870, I, 27.

¹⁸ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1877, III, 916.

¹⁹ William A. Taylor, *Centennial History of Columbus* (Chicago, 1909), I, 310-15.

County, and two years later the right-of-way on the berme of the same canal between Yellow Bud and Chillicothe to the Cincinnati, Hocking Valley and Huntington Railroad.²⁰

By the decade of the eighteen-eighties the Ohio legislature had enacted so many statutes in favor of railroads that the Commissioner of Railroads and Telegraphs reported that his office had been brought into disrepute. He said that only fifty-five railroads submitted reports and that most companies ignored his office.²¹ The duties of the railway commissioner were heavy: he was charged to make proper reports to the public of matters of common interest, such as capital stock of railroads and their value; he was to report on railroad debts, construction costs, value of stocks and bonds, length of the road, proper gauge, bridges and tunnels, railroad facilities and freight rates, and was authorized to report on all accidents. In 1880, the legislature increased the powers and authority of the commissioner.²² Governor Foster called attention to the office as one of great importance and urged that the commissioner be given better support.²³

Railroad organization, despite rising public sentiment and apprehension on the part of the commissioner, continued. During the year from January, 1879, to July 1, 1880, forty-four new companies were incorporated. Of the seventy-three roads in the State, twenty-six were leased and seven were in the hands of receivers who operated them in the interest of other companies. Other roads were so dependent upon the good will of certain companies as to place them practically under their domination. The tendency toward centralization, common to big business and public utilities during the post Civil War period, was stimulated by the struggle for corporate aggrandizement. Railroads ran for profits. Investors sank their money in railroads for dividends. It was to be many years before American railroads even approached the conception that they

²⁰ Ernest L. Bogart, *Internal Improvements and the State Debt of Ohio* (New York, 1924), 127.

²¹ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1880, III, 1051.

²² *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1870, I, 105, 106, 118-20 for list of duties.

²³ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1880, I, 530.

were public servants. Then, too, in Ohio as elsewhere, an immense amount of financial juggling was perpetrated by railroad magicians. Roads were mortgaged and sold, remortgaged and resold so frequently that the "rube" could only gape in amazement.

In 1869, complaints were set forth with remarkable clarity. Railroads, although considered one of the mighty arms of nineteenth-century progress, fared poorly at the hands of stubborn critics who accused western lines of relying upon great wealth and immense patronage to defy insolently attempts at control and to disregard laws regulating them. It was charged that "railroad directors have fattened too long upon the plunder of the farm to give it up without a struggle."²⁴ It was also pointed out that Ohio railroads were "watering" stock for speculative or gambling purposes. The rate disparity between short and long hauls was denounced as an evil. "They [railroads] should do the local business at a fair rate, and thereby encourage its increase." The arbitrary weights fixed by railroads on furniture and other bulky articles manufactured within the State was another source of complaint. Again, the want of uniformity in rates was cited as prevalent practice. There was complaint that express trains ran too fast through cities and towns, killing citizens. It was recommended that speed be reduced to ten or twelve miles per hour in populated communities. Fast-freight service came in for criticism as supplementary railway service which tended towards centralization and discrimination. The lack of integrity in railway management was another common cause of public complaint. Accidents at railroad crossings due to laxity on the part of either watchmen or train crews merited a paragraph of pungent language by the commissioner when he listed his series of complaints. The free-pass system by which eighteen different types of persons, from railroad employees and steamboat captains to objects of charity, received free transportation was commented upon. Passes also were given to State and local officials. "The system is demoralizing," said the commissioner. "It is used to influence

²⁴ Edward W. Martin, *History of the Grange Movement, or, The Farmer's War against Monopolies* (Philadelphia, 1873), 324-5.

traffic on the lines, to silence complaints, to cover up defects, and to secure influence and favor at the expense, sometimes, of right and justice.”²⁵

The greatest evil, however, in the minds of some was the tendency towards combination and centralization. Railroads soon learned that the total expense of maintaining competitive organization was large, that net earnings were small, and that duplication was costly. The result was a consolidation of short lines with through lines of large corporations.²⁶ Ohio, as well as other states, found its small roads being absorbed by great corporations. Fear rose that railroads might grow and consolidate to such an extent as to form a serious monopoly. Men with colossal wealth were controlling the means of transportation. Harriman, Gould, Rockefeller and Vanderbilt were making railroad financial history.

“It has been feared by the people of the entire country, as well as by those of Ohio,” said the commissioner of railroads in 1881, “that railroad corporations, growing in power, rapidly extending their lines from the Atlantic ports to the remotest harvests of the West, forming consolidations of through lines, with far-reaching tributary branches, into combinations of most formidable proportions, might, by a concert of action be wrought into one vast system of management, and that this organization with a singleness of purpose, might, by terms of their own exclusive making, determine just how large a share of the product of the producer should be set aside to compensate the transporter.”²⁷ This selfishness and audacity of railroad magnates had not passed unnoticed by the Ohio press. “The apparent truth,” said an editor, “is that American directors and superintendents have too much independence and too little restraint from those whose property they manage. As long as this condition of things exists there will be Fisk and Gould dynasties and bankrupt corporations going into the hands of receivers.”²⁸ On the other hand, railroads were recognized as a boon to the work-

²⁵ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1869, 15–28.

²⁶ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1880, III, 111.

²⁷ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1881, 97.

²⁸ *Cleveland Leader*, May 28, 1875.

ingman if lines were managed so that laborers could commute with safety and at reasonable fares. "One of the great and hitherto unavoidable evils common to large cities," said the *Cleveland Leader*, "has been the inability of the working classes to travel long distances between their work and their homes, and the consequent huddling together of great numbers of men, women and children in fetid, unhealthy tenements in the most densely built precincts." Railroads were able to solve this type of congestion, continued the editor, who thought that lines would develop suburban districts for workers.²⁹

To attempt to stem the drift toward consolidation and pooling in Ohio, George K. Nash, the attorney-general, brought suit in 1881 against William H. Vanderbilt and others. The Vanderbilt interests had sought to combine two railroads, the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis Railway Company and the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad Company, under the general name of the Ohio Railway Company. The case went to the Supreme Court of Ohio with the attorney-general arguing that the essential point involved was: "Can all the railroad companies in the state be combined into one vast corporation?" Nash pointed out that if the Vanderbilt merger was legal, then it would be entirely possible for the seventy-two railroad companies doing business in Ohio, with their five thousand seven hundred miles of road, reaching every county of the State but one, and with a capital stock and debt of three hundred and seventy million dollars, to consolidate and become one mighty corporation. The Supreme Court upheld the contention of the attorney-general, and its decision for years affected business practices.³⁰

Railroads, however, continued to increase and new lines were organized. The process of absorption and consolidation of short lines and local lines resulted in the emergence by 1882 of the Pennsylvania, New York Central, Baltimore and Ohio, and the Chesapeake and Ohio systems. All of these reached or crossed Ohio. As

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 6, 1875.

³⁰ "Decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio in the Case of the State *vs.* Vanderbilt *et al.*, Representing the Ohio Railway Company," *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1881, 110-22.

railroads increased in size and power so did criticism directed against them. It was charged that officials associated themselves as proprietors of fast-freight lines, or in some other capacity, by which they could make contracts with themselves and thereby secure excessive and unwarranted profits. Stockholders thus were squeezed out of regular dividends.

An exceedingly vexing situation developed over fast-freight lines. These were not organized under the laws of Ohio, but they did do business in the State. In effect, they were a part of regular railways running in the State, but railroad corporations denied owning fast-freight lines and refused to pay tax on them. In addition, many railways incorporated under the laws of Ohio maintained offices in New York and kept their transfer books on Wall Street. This remote control, or railroad absentee ownership, enabled speculators to control stocks held by innocent persons and frequently to discredit an entire system.³¹

The irritating problem of freight rates probably was the outstanding bone of contention between railroads and the public. During the early days when canals still were serving as competitors, railroads were forced to keep rates within reason. Until the creation of the Department of Railroads and Telegraphs on April 5, 1867, railroads operated with little State supervision. Traffic and freight managers proceeded on the old rule of "what the traffic will bear." The result was obvious. Farmers wished to ship as cheaply as possible and hated the roads violently. Grange organizations claimed rates were excessive, discriminating and irregular and urged increased State and federal control.

The Grange, of course, sought to array the agricultural class as a compact body against monopolistic evils and "by thus opposing a solid front to the monopolists and their selfish and unpatriotic schemes, to awaken the entire Nation to a sense of the danger with which it is threatened, and secure its cooperation in the enforcement of measures which will remove the evil and bring about a

³¹ *Ohio Exec. Doc., 1874*, I, 834.

more healthful state of affairs.”³² The poetic complaint of an old Granger illustrates the attitude of thousands of farmers throughout the Middle West.³³

“Near the track of a railway newly laid,
A farmer leaned on his earth-worn spade;
While his taxes were high and his crops but slim,
The charge for freight played the deuce with him;
So he growled a growl at the train’s sharp din—
‘I’ll gather you in; I’ll gather you in!’”

“ ‘I have borne you long, and here I vow
Your railroads to beat, some way, or how;
I will get up a law, by the great horned owl!
To cut down your profits and make you howl;
And but little or nothing, I’ll ship from bin
Of hoarded corn, till I’ve gathered you in!’ ”

Ohio legislatures, hearing the pleas from the Ohio State Grange and other agricultural groups for laws to control both railroads and freight, passed a series of acts. In 1872, railroads were required to charge the same freight rate to all shippers, whether regular customers or occasional shippers. The maximum rate allowed was five cents per mile per ton on lines of thirty miles or more in length.³⁴ By 1874, only nine companies were said to be charging in excess of this amount. A year later an act was passed providing for the creation and further regulation of incorporated companies. It provided that passenger fares should not exceed three cents per mile except in certain specified instances. By 1881, elaborate schedules for freight had been worked out and enacted into law. The intent of these statutes probably was the most satisfactory phase of them. In actual practice, railroads violated and evaded regulations. All groups, except those connected with railroads, realized that inter-

³² Martin, *History of the Grange Movement*, 9.

³³ *Ohio Farmer*, June 13, 1874.

³⁴ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1872, II, 1207.

state commerce rates could not be adjusted satisfactorily by action on the part of the several states. Farmers' organizations, the press, reform groups and legislators began to urge federal regulation.

In 1887, Congress answered these demands by passing the Interstate Commerce Commission Act. It provided for the charging of reasonable rates, forbade special rates, rebates, drawbacks and other illegal devices. It forbade undue and unreasonable preferences and advantages to any person, company, firm, corporation, or locality. It sought to prevent railroads from pooling freight differences. Roads were required to print their freight schedules and copies of these schedules were to be filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission. Freight was to be carried as one continuous shipment from its source to its destination. The act provided for the punishment of violators. In Ohio, a State crossed by many lines doing interstate business, the act caused a certain amount of readjustment, but by 1899 only one complaint of discrimination was filed, and it was adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. In most instances, railroads steadily reduced their rates and by the turn of the century there was scarcely an instance in Ohio where either tariff or rate equalled the amount permitted by law.

Railroads, despite public belief that they were anti-social and self-centered, did much to improve their rolling stock and equipment. Construction, of course, was difficult, but certain principles had been laid down early by engineers who wished roads to be straight with few curves, to have easy grades, and to use standard track gauges and standard roadbeds.³⁵

After the Civil War many of these suggestions were put into effect and other improvements made throughout railway systems. By 1883 when the National Railway Exposition was held in Chicago a wide variety of ingenious devices for railroad use was displayed. An automatic electric block system invented by George Westinghouse removed the responsibility from switchmen who formerly did all train signalling and transferred it to the train itself.

³⁵ W. M. Gillespie, *A Manual of the Principles and Practice of Road-Making* (New York, 1857), 270, 276, 283, 288.

which short-circuited a simple apparatus that caused a danger signal to show. In addition, the exposition demonstrated a variety of new refrigerator cars as well as showed continuous brakes, steel rails, revolving snow plows, trainmen's uniforms and railroad officers' desks. New models of logging locomotives with geared driving wheels attracted attention as did an engine designed by the Cooke Locomotive Works which used cylinders twenty inches in diameter and possessed a thirty-inch stroke. Another novelty viewed by Ohio railroaders was the Wooten patent fire-box which utilized inferior fuel.³⁶

Ohio forged steadily ahead with roadbed construction, with the laying of steel rails and with other structural improvements. In 1875, there were 755 miles of steel rail in the State and in 1883 the number had increased to almost five thousand miles. Only thirteen railroads then used the narrow gauge track of thirty-six inches. From 1875 until 1900 railroads labored to make travel safer and more comfortable. Laws were enacted requiring railroads to build flexible bridges, to install network between cars, to place bells and steam whistles on locomotives and to safeguard crossings. Ohio editors endorsed enthusiastically these acts making the use of signals and alarms at crossings obligatory.³⁷

By 1881, the block system was in use throughout the State in an attempt to avoid the frequent collisions which made up about a fourth of Ohio's train accidents. Automatic couplings and air brakes further insured against wrecks. The first train in Ohio to use air brakes ran from Pittsburgh to Steubenville in October, 1868, and by 1880 most lines were equipped with this device. In 1890, railroad safety engineers were experimenting with the blocking frog and switch and with the further perfection of air brakes and automatic couplings. Ten years later most Ohio railroads had installed air brakes on both passenger and freight engines.³⁸

About sixteen different types of cars were used on regular pas-

³⁶ "The National Railway Exposition," *Science* (Cambridge, Mass.), II (1883), 3, 99.

^{127.}

³⁷ *Cleveland Leader*, Mar. 11, 1875.

³⁸ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1901, 418-25.

senger trains operating in Ohio. In addition to the usual sleeping, smoking, dining, and baggage cars, Ohio railroads were hauling emigrant, officers', business, directors' and pay cars. No more amusing account of the discomforts of sleeping-car and dining-car service could be found than the adventures of "Uncle Ben Morgan," a comic literary figure whose experiences were similar to those found in *Peck's Bad Boy*.³⁹ Eighteen different types of freight cars were in service. Over twelve thousand miles of railroad were operating in the State at the close of the century. More than twenty-seven million passengers and fifty-nine million tons of freight were being hauled annually. The Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio systems were maintaining two lines each, running east and west through the State with lateral and leased lines connecting with Lake Erie and the Ohio River.

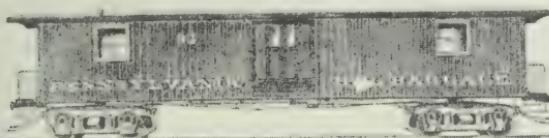
The Big Four System divided the State from the southwest to the northeast, connecting Cleveland and Cincinnati with laterals to the southeast and northwest. The Columbus & Hocking Valley and the Toledo & Ohio Central systems divided the State from the northwest to the southeast, running parallel from Toledo to the Ohio River at Gallipolis. From Columbus, sixteen railways radiated to points throughout the State. The Nickel Plate and Lake Shore & Michigan Southern systems ran to the east and north, and to the west, northwest, and southwest. The Hocking Valley coal fields were connected with Cleveland and the lake by the Baltimore & Ohio, Hocking Valley & Toledo, and Toledo & Ohio Central.⁴⁰ Ohio, indeed, had developed a network of rails at the beginning of the twentieth century. The once-steady traffic of the Ohio River had fallen away and the canal days were dimming into memory. Ohio had become one of the leading railroad states of the Nation and was destined to remain so for many years. Her enviable position between the industrial East and the agricultural West and between the Great Lakes and the southern states placed the Buckeye State

³⁹ John S. Draper, *Shams, or, Uncle Ben's Experience with Hypocrites* (Chicago, 1897); George W. Peck, *Peck's Bad Boy and His Pa* (Chicago, 1883).

⁴⁰ W. A. Taylor, *Ohio Statesmen and Hundred Year Book* (Columbus, 1892), 150.



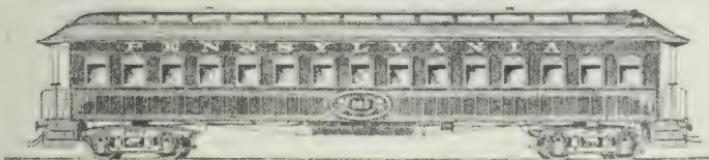
LOCOMOTIVE AND TENDER, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.



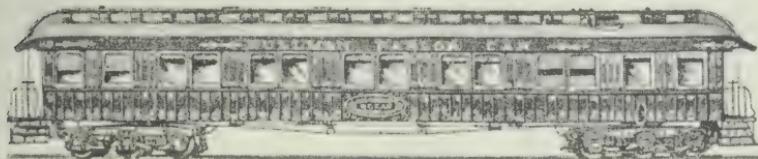
FLAT-CAR, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.



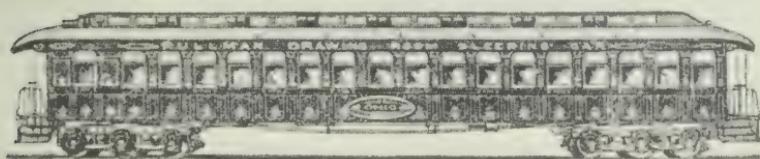
PASSENGER-CAR, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.



PASSENGER-CAR, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.



FREIGHT-CAR, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.



SLEEPING-CAR, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

8. TYPES OF RAILROAD CARS USED IN OHIO DURING THE SEVENTIES
From *Pennsylvania Railroad Bulletin*, 1877.

in a strategic position for both freight and passenger business.

Despite the use of air brakes, automatic couplers and first-class equipment, injurious and fatal accidents increased as railroads extended their lines and speeded up their schedules. In 1873, for example, only 210 persons were killed and 398 injured in accidents involving trains in Ohio. In 1899, almost four hundred were killed and more than six thousand injured; in 1900, over five hundred were killed and more than seven thousand were injured.⁴¹

Many accidents, obviously, were not the responsibility of train crews. "Drunken men," complained the commissioner of railroads, "seem to seek the railroad track as a street upon which to travel, or a place for repose; children are permitted to use it as a playground; deaf men select it to walk upon; boys, old and young, climb upon or jump from engines or trains in motion, whilst others are on the tracks for various reasons."⁴²

Railroad employees, as well as passengers, were seriously injured throughout the years. Loss of arms, legs, fingers, or toes constituted a major type of injury. Fractures, dislocations and spinal injuries were plentiful as were sprains, cuts and bruises. Railroad men were caught in collisions, pinned under derailed and overturned cars, and held in jammed frogs and switches. Most accidents to the public occurred at grade crossings, getting on and off cars, and in collisions.

One of the greatest disasters in early Ohio railroad history occurred near Ashtabula late in December, 1876, when a swank Pacific express pulled by the engine "Socrates" and heavy with three palace cars broke through a Howe-truss bridge and crashed sixty feet into a deep ravine. Lamps and stoves immediately spilled flames, so that cars were burning fiercely when rescue parties arrived from Ashtabula. Some of the coaches had fallen into the icy waters of a small stream, making relief work extremely hazardous. Eighty-three persons, including Dr. A. H. Washburn, rector of Grace Church, Cleveland, were killed outright, and more than sixty were injured.⁴³ As

⁴¹ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1901, 28.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1873, 11.

⁴³ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1877; *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1877, 22-4.

wreckage was removed, more and more bodies were recovered.⁴⁴ The wreck brought typical examples of Ohio journalism during the seventies.

"The haggard dawn which drove the darkness out of this valley and shadow of death," wrote one at-the-scene reporter, "seldom saw a ghastlier sight than was revealed with the coming of this morning. On either side of the ravine frowned the dark and bare arches from which the treacherous timbers had fallen, while at their base the great heaps of ruins covered the hundred men, women and children who had so suddenly been called to their death. The three charred bodies lay where they had been placed in the hurry and confusion of the night. Piles of iron lay on the thick ice or bedded in the shallow water of the stream. The fires smoldered in great heaps, where many of the hapless victims had been all consumed, men went about in wild excitement seeking some traces of loved ones among the wounded or dead."⁴⁵ Years afterwards it was said that an hour of competent and honest inspection would have condemned the Ashtabula bridge on the day it was built.⁴⁶ Such inspection, however, was unusual during the early days.

Another great wreck took place in 1873 at Independence Station when two Baltimore and Ohio trains, carrying passengers to the State Fair at Mansfield, crashed. Scores were tossed from their seats, many were injured and several killed. Investigation placed entire responsibility upon the train crew. An earlier wreck on the Marietta and Cincinnati near Symmes Station officially was blamed upon a conductor and engineer who had been quarreling and forgot to stop at a signal. Four persons lost their lives and several were injured.⁴⁷ When workmen, who were placing new switch ties on the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio near Newark, neglected to close a switch circuit, a fast freight jumped the track, ripped a sidewalk for two hundred feet, veered into a two-story building and hit

⁴⁴ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 1, 1877.

⁴⁵ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1877.

⁴⁶ George L. Vose, "Safety in Railway Travel," *North American Review* (New York), CXXXV (1882), 383.

⁴⁷ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1873, 11-4.

a law office. The engineer was killed.⁴⁸ Three days later a school teacher near Hamilton running to catch a train, slipped, bounced against a fence so hard that she was thrown directly into the path of the train which crushed both legs.⁴⁹ When two cars and a coach were derailed on Sullivan Hill three miles south of Columbus a number of passengers were injured including A. T. Wikoff, Secretary of State, who sustained severe burns and bruises. Four members of the legislature also were injured.⁵⁰ Upon occasion even minor railroad wrecks disrupted the best-laid plans of politicians.⁵¹

Railroad commissioners frequently commented upon the laxity with which operating lines reported upon accidents and wrecks. Inspectors repeatedly mentioned the carelessness of the public and spoke of the poorly maintained equipment of the roads themselves. In 1890, railroad accidents in Ohio were described as daily occurrences and of magnitude. "I am more and more impressed," said a commissioner, "each day as the telegraph reports of the fatalities are received, that there should be great caution and more rigid efforts made to lessen the number of these railroad horrors. The army of employees each year going to their graves by railroad accidents, and the thousands of others going through life mangled and crippled, victims of carelessness, is alarming."⁵² That this was no understatement is indicated by the fact that only two years previously railroads had paid more than ninety-three thousand dollars in compensation for personal injuries and losses to passengers, and more than a hundred thousand dollars had been paid to unfortunate employees.⁵³

Despite the heavy accident rate in the United States a competent observer thought that the number of fatalities was less than in England and certainly less than the number of individuals murdered annually in cold blood in America. He believed there was "no more

⁴⁸ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Nov. 8, 1879.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1879.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1879.

⁵¹ A. T. Wikoff to R. B. Hayes, Columbus, Aug. 2, 1875, Hayes MSS. (Hayes Memorial Library).

⁵² *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1890, 7

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1888, 44.

creditable monument to human care, human skill, and human foresight than the statistics of railroad accidents."⁵⁴ A cynic insisted that the "free-born American citizen seems to regard it as one of his privileges to be killed upon railroad tracks, and resists any attempt, either on the part of the railroad or the State, to interfere with his rights."⁵⁵ Yet when George B. Wright resigned as Commissioner of Railroads and Telegraphs, Governor Hayes praised him for his integrity, ability, uprightness and success in making Ohio's railway and telegraph systems safe and effective.⁵⁶ Some Ohioans who traveled might have disagreed.

Travel on American railways until past the turn of the century was more of an ordeal than a comfortable pleasure. Ohioans, like others, complained bitterly of depots which were merely dirty shanties, of the rudeness of conductors, brakemen and porters who peered into berths unceremoniously and rudely demanded tickets, of being pressed into narrow, double seats, and of being forced to breathe for hours impure, dust-filled air. They objected to being rocked, shaken and jolted until they felt as if every bone had been misplaced and they prayed that some simple rules of ethics for railroad traveling might be agreed upon in order to regulate the talkative passenger and the women whose children kept a coach in an uproar.⁵⁷

During the eighties a traveler on American railways shuddered at the gaudy engines which pulled trains of the type that crossed Ohio and waxed eloquent in a most uncomplimentary fashion on parlor car decorations. Objection was made to the nickel-plated horrors and disturbing mirrors of lounge cars as well as to their lavish and absurd upholstery, "ridiculous hangings of all sorts of stuff, the nitches with porcelain pots of artificial roses and geraniums in outrageous bloom and full of dust and cinders." Gorgeous

⁵⁴ Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *Notes on Railroad Accidents* (New York, 1879), 271.

⁵⁵ Vose, "Safety in Railway Travel," 377.

⁵⁶ R. B. Hayes to Gen. Geo. B. Wright, Columbus, Oct. 24, 1871, Executive Letter Book, 1871-1872 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 28-9.

⁵⁷ "A Cosmopolitan," "American Railway Travelling," *Putnam's Magazine* (New York), XV (1870), 196, 197, 200, 203, 204, 205.



9. DRESS AND MANNERS IN A ROCOCO PARLOR CAR
Harper's Weekly, Apr. 29, 1893.

chairs which afforded no repose and offered no rest for the head came in for abuse also.⁵⁸

Even though the train of 1880 consisted of a firmly made line of well-built carriages so constructed that telescoping was almost impossible, it was primitive almost beyond belief when compared with twentieth-century limiteds.⁵⁹ Lighted by oil lamps and warmed by wood-burning stoves which heated cars to a suffocation point or caused temperature to chill unreasonably, coaches and parlor cars offered little comfort. Added to this was the ever-present nuisance of tobacco smoke and spittle. Although elaborate spittoons were installed on many trans-Ohio roads, the average male passenger used them only occasionally. Dining cars were said to be expensive and whole families frequently ate from lunch baskets perched upon their unsteady laps. Berths were hard and blankets too thin for

⁵⁸ "English and American Railways," *Harper's Magazine* (New York), LXXI (1885), 380.

⁵⁹ Vose, "Safety in Railway Travel," 381.

comfort. Added to such inconveniences was the ever-present fear of accident.

Coaches were apt to be filled with a motley crowd. Drummers with sample cases usurped the insecure luggage racks; farmers in heavy boots and jackets lugged carpet-bags, relics of Civil War days, into cars; women with baskets of squawking chickens squeezed into red-plush seats; and rotund promoters, heavy with jewelry and gold toothpicks stretched across their checked waistcoats, talked loudly of stocks and bonds and quick profits. Legislators, traveling on passes, bowed to constituents and then retreated into their shell of political aloofness. Free travel for legislators, indeed, became so prominent that it was a subject for indignant jest. The usual practice of many railroads was to carry a politician without charge until the fifteenth of January following the expiration of his term of office. "The day following," caustically commented a critic of the free-pass system, "his sorrowing relatives would be compelled to pay double first-class passenger fare for the transportation of his corpse."⁶⁰

It was no secret, of course, throughout the Nation that railroads furnished money to control legislators and elections. Jay Gould, himself, testified in 1873 that he did not know how much financial aid he had paid toward keeping politicians friendly. "In a Democratic district," Gould continued frankly, "I was a Democrat; in a Republican district I was a Republican, and in a doubtful district I was doubtful; but in every district and at all times I have always been an Erie man."⁶¹ Sentiments such as this led American economists who leaned toward the liberal point of view to decide that there were only two solutions to the high-handed procedure of railroad magnates. Either the modern highway of steel rails and cars had to be managed as a public undertaking by delegated authority or it must pass over to a system of State ownership and

⁶⁰ Charles Aldrich, "Bribery by Railway Pass," *North American Review* (New York), CXXXVIII (1884), 92.

⁶¹ Quoted in "The Railroads and the People," *Scribner's Monthly* (New York), XXI (1880), 260.

control.⁶² Despite well-deserved criticism, however, one fact stood out clearly and distinctly; for every additional mile of railroad built in Ohio, the average price per acre of farm land increased. From 1860 to 1870, for example, farm values of the State moved up about \$3.54 an acre.⁶³

Closely identified with railroad development was the growth of telegraph companies. The first act of a general nature pertaining to the construction of telegraph lines in Ohio was passed on February 8, 1847. It authorized the building of electric telegraph lines from one point to another, along any of the public highways, and across any of the waters of the State so as not to discommode their public use. Successive acts passed in 1852 and 1865 created legal machinery for the creation and regulation of magnetic telegraph companies. In 1867, the legislature provided for the appointment of a commissioner of railroads and telegraphs and specified his duties. Five years previously, an act had provided for the assessment and taxation of express and telegraph companies.⁶⁴ From that time telegraph companies were subject to the general laws of incorporation as fixed by the Ohio legislature and were required by law to report annually to the commissioner of railroads. The Federal Government also exercised control by congressional acts concerning the construction of lines through the public domain, the transmission priority of government dispatches, and the right of the government to purchase lines after a five-year interval.

After the Civil War, telegraph lines spread slowly throughout the State. The commissioner of railroads was making his ancient complaint that neither railroads nor telegraph companies bothered to report to him. In 1869, four companies were operating in the State with about forty-five hundred miles of line. Only one company, the Telegraph Line of the Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad Company, was doing business entirely within the State. The largest

⁶² Richard T. Ely, "The Reform of Railway Abuses," *Harper's Magazine* (New York), LXXXIII (1886), 573.

⁶³ W. M. Grosvenor, "The Railroads and the Farms," *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), XXXII (1873), 599.

⁶⁴ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1870, I, 143-54.

out-of-state concern operating in Ohio was Western Union with over three thousand miles of line. To send a message of ten words a distance of two hundred and fifty miles via Western Union in 1869 cost about eighty-five cents.⁶⁵

In 1870, Western Union was receiving applause for having cut rates and for inaugurating half-rate night messages. It also had put into service a special circuit for the transmission of board of trade reports at a nominal fee.⁶⁶ Five years later Ohio was benefiting from a rate war between Western Union and the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company.⁶⁷

In 1880, five companies were operating in Ohio, but only Western Union had any great stretch of line. Of the local companies which had existed in 1869 none were doing business under the same name. In 1888, ten concerns were engaged in the transmission of telegraphic messages. Of these some were to be short-lived, others were to witness the turn of the century, and only one, Western Union, was to continue doing business until the present. The small companies were well represented by such a concern as the Put-In-Bay Telegraph Company with main offices in Sandusky. Organized in 1873, this business leased eight miles of Western Union wire and maintained about twenty miles of its own. The Union Metropolitan Telegraph Company was located in Cleveland. Chartered in 1884, it operated seven miles of lines on "house tops, and Western Union Telegraph Company and Cleveland telephone poles."⁶⁸ By 1890, seven telegraph companies were sending and receiving messages in the State, and by the turn of the century the number had been further reduced to only four. These were the Cincinnati and Eastern Telegraph Company, Postal Telegraph Company, Put-In-Bay Telegraph Company, and Western Union Telegraph Company. The latter maintained more than twenty-three thousand offices throughout the State. Postal Telegraph operated about two hundred offices, the Cincinnati and Eastern, sixteen,

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1869, 367-77, 378.

⁶⁶ *Cleveland Leader*, July 30, Sept. 8, 1870.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1875.

⁶⁸ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1888, 1093.

and Put-In-Bay, only three. More than 67,271 miles of line were strung and over 37,000 persons employed in the telegraph business. It is interesting, indeed, to note that although the largest company, Western Union, was paying a five per cent dividend, the smaller companies were declaring six and nine per cent dividends.⁶⁹

In 1890, the commissioner of railroads bluntly charged railroad companies with hiring "mere boys" as telegraph operators in order to save money, and charged that many wrecks were the result of "inefficiency, neglect, or carelessness of telegraph operators, who either failed to receive or neglected to deliver proper instructions to those in charge of trains."⁷⁰

During the eighteen-sixties the street railway, run on tracks and pulled by a horse, made its appearance in many Ohio cities. The first street railroad was said to have operated in Cincinnati about 1859. The following year two lines were running in Cleveland and one in Toledo. In 1861, Cincinnati had a total of twenty-nine miles of street railway, Cleveland had ten miles, and Toledo had three miles. Originally, these street railways embraced the tramway principle of the first railroads, built on a reduced scale, adapted to operation by horsepower, and planned for interurban travel.⁷¹

By 1888, so popular had the street car become, that engineers hit upon the idea of using electricity as motive power. The first practical experiments were made at Alliance in 1889 when a car driven by an electric motor traveled a two-mile route between Alliance and Mt. Union. In 1895, the Akron, Bedford & Cleveland was operating cars over a twenty-seven mile route from Akron through Cuyahoga Falls to Newburg. The following year an interurban route connected East Cleveland with Painesville, and in 1897, another system ran between Lorain and Rocky River. It is said that interurban service aided the urbanization of land for miles around Cleveland.⁷²

The first commercially successful electric interurban was estab-

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1901, 442-3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1890, 10.

⁷¹ C. S. Van Tassel, *The Book of Ohio* (Toledo, 1901), 703.

⁷² Simeon D. Fess, *Ohio...The History of a Great State* (Chicago, 1937), III, 97.

lished between Sebring and Alliance in 1902. It was not long before the interurban lines had become suburban, connecting small communities or cities and running at regular intervals. Electric power became the primary source of energy, and by 1900, about twenty-five suburban and interurban lines were operating in Ohio. Among these were the Akron, Bedford & Cleveland; the Canton & Massillon; the Cincinnati and Hamilton Electric; the Cleveland, Berea, Elyria & Oberlin; the Dayton and Western Traction; and the Worthington, Clintonville & Columbus. Electric lines such as these added greatly to the railroads as an outlet for farms and factories. Interurban transportation was cheap and rapid. Freight and passengers were carried. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Ohio led all the states in the number of miles of electric railways.

As railroads rose to power, canals, once the arteries of Ohio's transportation system, declined. For years the system of inland ditches had given the people of Ohio trade lanes to local and national markets. The decline of business, incident to the Civil War and caused by the construction of railways, brought a change in public sentiment regarding canal ownership. In the bright days of Brown, "Father of the Ohio Canals," it was strongly argued that State ownership of canals would swell revenue and prove a valuable investment. Ohio had not learned the lesson that internal improvements never paid worth-while dividends. Citizens during the eighteen fifties urged that the State abandon, lease, or sell its canals. Governor William Dennison, however, in 1861 found reason why the canals should not be disposed of. He said that large portions of the wealth and value of the counties adjacent to canals were dependent upon the canals. To dispose of the canals would work a hardship on these canal counties. Dennison also argued that Ohio had an obligation to the Federal Government in that the State, under the conditions of the land grants of 1822, had agreed to maintain canals as public highways. In the third place, the governor pointed out that the State had in many instances leased water rights for ninety-nine years. These were contractual obligations which should not be forfeited. Finally, it was shown that even though

canals might not of themselves have made money, they did bring prosperity to farmers and manufacturers who used them.⁷³

Others with equal vigor maintained that the canals had been of great value since they first were operated and that they could still be made to operate at a profit. They pointed out that the canals had placed millions of dollars in circulation, that markets for the pork and corn crops had been promoted, that swamps had been drained, that wages had increased, that prices of farm products had doubled, and that freight rates had been kept down.⁷⁴

Despite widespread loyalty to the canal, the State moved to dispose of them in one form or another. In 1861, the legislature provided for the lease of the public works of the State to private individuals.⁷⁵ In 1871, the lease was renewed for another ten years. But by 1877, the lessors abandoned the public works and refused to pay accumulated rent of about ten thousand dollars. The excuse was offered that a legislative act had authorized the city of Hamilton to fill in a part of the canal basin and hence the terms of the contract had been violated by the State.⁷⁶ Receivers were appointed and remained in charge of the canals until May 15, 1878, when the property was placed under the jurisdiction of the Board of Public Works, and the canals once again became the responsibility of the State. Nothing, however, was to stop the general abandonment of canals. As early as 1863, Cincinnati was given the outlet of the Miami and Erie Canal for street and sewage purposes. By 1900, this strip of land was being used by the Cleveland, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad for terminal and depot purposes. In 1864, the legislature authorized the transfer of several miles of the Maumee and Erie Canal to Toledo for sewerage and street purposes. In 1872, Cleveland received three miles of canal bed. Three other acts passed in 1873, 1876 and 1894 removed practically the entire Hocking

⁷³ *History of the Ohio Canals*, 45.

⁷⁴ Dudley T. Fisher, *Binding West to East, The Story of the Development of the Systems of Transportation Across the Allegheny Mountains by which the Western Country Was Saved to the United States*, MS. (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 102.

⁷⁵ *Ohio Laws, Acts*, 54 Assemb., 2 Sess., 1861, p. 117.

⁷⁶ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1878, III, 48.

Canal from the map. By 1894, the entire canal property was leased to the Columbus, Hocking Valley & Athens Railroad Company for ninety-nine years.

Even as state-owned canals were passing out of existence, privately controlled canal systems were facing the same fate. In 1854, for example, the Cleveland & Mahoning Railroad acquired controlling interest in the Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal. Tolls immediately were raised and its banks were cut in 1868 and 1874. Soon after the canal was closed permanently. The Cincinnati and Whitewater Canal was killed when the Whitewater Canal was closed and when a railroad was built along the old water route. In 1863, the Cincinnati & Indianapolis Railroad acquired the canal bed for its right-of-way. During the eighteen-seventies and the following decade, it was seen clearly that the canals were doomed. Railroads were offering cheaper freight rates. The demoralization of boatmen resulted in uncertain schedules. The great canal transportation lines of earlier days had been dissolved. Other factors gave impetus to the decline.

The unusually severe winter of 1881–1882, for example, damaged canals, locks, and dams and made navigation impossible in some areas. Then, too, the rich coal trade at the northern end of the Ohio and Erie Canal was diminishing as mines were being exhausted. Railroads were carrying more coal now than were canals. In addition, canal supporters found little inclination on the part of the legislature to appropriate sufficient funds to repair and keep the canals in good condition. In 1885, the Board of Public Works bluntly reported that unless more money was available for canal repair, the system would lose its usefulness to the people of Ohio.⁷⁷

Year after year, with little official support and inadequate financing, the canals sluggishly drifted into disfavor and debt. Gradually, they lost their through traffic and became local haulers. Season after season, canal expenditures exceeded income.⁷⁸ What revenue was derived from canals came, in large part, from water rents. Leases for water rents amounted to thousands of dollars annually. Paper

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1885, II, 1183.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1886, II, 1359.

mills, developing along Ohio canals, purchased surplus water rights for power. Nearly all of Ohio's paper mills were located on the canals. "Sixty mills for sixty miles," was the cry of paper manufacturers between Cincinnati and Dayton. By 1902, the lease of water power furnished about ninety per cent of the total receipts of the canals.⁷⁹

Abandonment of the canals was continued in 1887 when the Muskingum Improvement was transferred to and accepted by the Federal Government. Early in the decade it had been suggested that the Muskingum River, a natural waterway and one of the finest inland streams in the State, should be placed under the jurisdiction of the National Government. The transfer marked the beginning of the end of state-owned canals in Ohio. In 1888, after much antagonism on the part of residents living near the Wabash and Erie Canal and the Six-Mile or Paulding County Reservoir, the legislature provided for abandonment and the sale of this property.⁸⁰ In 1896, nineteen miles of the Walhonding Canal were abandoned. By 1900, only two canals remained of the Ohio canal system, the Ohio and Erie and the Miami and Erie. In 1888, Governor Foraker suggested a commission to judge boundaries and otherwise determine the amount and limits of State canals. Maps were to be drawn. This commission specifically was directed to "survey and determine the boundaries of all land heretofore appropriated for canal purposes and owned by the State, the boundaries of which are not accurately known and of record as already surveyed."⁸¹ General William H. Gibson, of Seneca County; Colonel Charles F. Baldwin, of Knox County; and Judge Alexander S. Latty, of Defiance County were appointed to the commission. Their task was difficult.

They examined thousands of old land letters in the vaults of the State House; they read the land records in the office of the Board of Public Works; they saw bushels of vouchers, deeds, and old pa-

⁷⁹ *History of the Ohio Canals*, 114-5.

⁸⁰ *Ohio Laws, Acts*, 68 Assemb., Reg. Sess., 1888, p. 207.

⁸¹ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1889, II, 818.

pers relating to the history of canaling; and they went through countless file boxes of land letters in the office of the auditor of State. In addition, they sought information from old newspaper files and even interviewed old residents in localities where original boundaries had been surveyed in reference to marks long gone—blacksmith shops, a hickory tree, or a limestone rock. For years the commission labored and succeeded in restoring to State ownership land which otherwise might have been lost. In one year, for example, the commission recovered land appraised at over one hundred thirty thousand dollars.

In 1898, some of the reservoirs belonging to canals now in disuse were made into State parks and recreational spots. That marked the end, for although schemes were offered from time to time for the electrification of the canals, for swifter canal transportation, and for new and larger canal boats, nothing was to save the system. The concrete highway and the automobile presently paved the way for a swifter mode of transportation. Trucking was soon to take over the work of the canals, supplementing freight service on the railroads of the State.

For almost three quarters of a century, wide ditches meandering through the State like ragged ribbons had transported goods and passengers. Canals and canal men and canal boats had aided the economic development of Ohio and had been an integral part of its internal improvements. On the Ohio and Erie Canal and on the Miami and Erie Canal moved cargo and packet boats loaded with express, mail, passengers and an astonishing variety of freight. Toll rates changed during the history of the canals, but the schedule established by the Board of Canal Commissioners in 1833 served as a basis for both passenger and freight charges. Toll was fixed according to weight, according to quantity or according to boat only. In addition, rates varied, as might be expected, according to distance. The established rate for passengers for many years was a half a cent a mile.

The cargo boat, as seen during the seventies and eighties, was flat-bottomed with straight sides about five feet high which were

joined to the bottom with a curve of about a two-foot radius. Small cabins stood at both prow and stern. A larger cabin or "barn" was placed amidship for the accommodation of mules and horses. Removable hatches made loading and unloading of cargo relatively easy.

At the stern of a cargo boat was a small quarter-deck, surrounded by a low railing and placed about two feet above the roof of the cabin. There the steersman stood and manipulated the massive wooden tiller. For economy of space, the captain's bunk was built below the quarter-deck, tables were hinged on the walls so they could be swung out of the way when not in use, and lids to lockers were utilized as seats. Cabin windows usually were protected by green shutters, and drapes sometimes hung at windows. The vessel's name was painted across the stern and was registered with the canal commissioners.

The packet, designed especially for express, mail and passenger service, was narrower than the cargo boat. Sharper bows made for faster speed. Sleeping accommodations were arranged for about forty persons. Lower berths were well-cushioned tops of lockers which served during the day as settees. Upper berths were wooden frames covered with canvas and hinged to the wall. Cabin appointments were luxurious with pictures and mirrors. A stern cabin was occupied by the captain and his wife and the bow cabin was the crew's living quarters. Packets had right-of-way over cargo boats. It was to be many years, indeed, before the dirty, ill-smelling, overheated railway day coach offered the ease and comfort of packet travel.⁸²

Soon the snorting, steam railway engine was to replace the plodding horse and the patient mule of the tow-paths. Speed, an American fixation, was replacing ease and comfort. Attempts were made to adapt steam to canal transportation. In 1845, for example, a steam packet, the *Niagara*, traveled from Cincinnati to Toledo in four and a half days, the same time taken by horsepower. The boat

⁸² Fisher, *Binding West to East*, 139-45.

was discontinued because the machinery took up too much space, because it made too much noise and because it vibrated too much. A freighter, appropriately called the *Scarecrow*, puffed and chugged along the Miami Canal and then went into retirement with its three-foot propellor. In 1860, a steamboat was experimented with on the Ohio and Erie Canal, but the scheme soon was abandoned. At one time, even a horse-tread was tried on a boat at Licking Reservoir. In 1900, experiments were begun with electricity. On March 26, 1901, the Board of Public Works entered into contract with Thomas N. Fordyce by which Fordyce's concern, known as the Miami and Erie Canal Transportation Company, was given the right to maintain and operate a canal-boat traction plant upon the Miami and Erie Canal, but the contract specifically withheld the right from Fordyce to use the tow-path or berme for railroad construction. The "Electric Mule" Company, as it was called, went into the hands of receivers before it began operation and before the legislature acted upon the contract. The era of electrical propulsion on Ohio canals had ended before it began.

Life on the canal was interesting, exciting and dramatic from 1825 until the turn of the century. Boats were more personal than railroads ever could be. The Ohio packet or cargo boat possessed a personality. Merchants and passengers waited until they could ship or travel on a favorite vessel. Names of these boats frequently were commonplace and sometimes amusing. Some canalers christened boats after wives or sweethearts. Other boats were called after politicians and still others received titles after their calling. For example, a boat which hauled whiskey from Troy to Cincinnati was called *The Truly Faithful*. Other well-known boats on the Ohio canals were *Queen City of the Valley*, *Pride of the Hocking*, *Governor Brown*, *General Worthington*, *Saucy Sally*, and *Wild Horse of Mill Creek*.

Although canalers were rough men, life on the canal was not essentially brutal. Boatmen from early days until the close of the canal period gathered to listen to the scrape of a fiddle and to sing songs of the tow-paths. "Hell on the Wabash," a song with unlimited

verse, was a favorite, as were "Barbara Allen," "Caroline of Edinboro Town" and "Keep Your Tail Up." There were scores of others, of course. P. R. Nye, of Akron and an old canal-boat man, wrote many songs describing his life and experiences on Ohio waterways after the Civil War. In 1886, Nye described in verse a canal ball where the fancy dances were the tow-path swing and the hardwater step. He pictured jolly skippers; told of song, music and dancing when the horses were prancing; described the last trip in the autumn when ice was everywhere; and painted the Hocking Valley as unlimited in precious metals. Nye's homely verse perhaps caught the spirit of the canal as well as more formal literature. His "Take a Trip on the Canal" reflected not only the attitude of the canaler, but also revealed life on a packet.

"You may talk of your Pleasure Trips on the Great Lakes
But a trip on these canal boats you bet takes the cake,
Beef steak is tough as a fighting god's neck
And the flies, they play tag with the cook upon deck.
The potatoes she'll burn, let the coffee boil o'er,
The fumes nearly choke you, so greasy the floor.
The cook room's the limit, you must eat or die
And when it's all over you laugh till you cry.

Chorus

"So haul in the tow-line and take up the slack,
Take a reef in your shirt tail and straighten your back,
Whatever you do be sure don't forget;
Tap the mules gently while the cook is on deck,
Oh, those were the gay times and no equal have they
Whatever the weather we'd run night and day.
If I owned the world, on 'The Ditch' I would run,
For no other place has such oceans of fun."

Fortunately, more pleasant pictures of the culinary art exist. Even Nye was willing in other verses to claim excellent food was

served on the canals.⁸³ Turtle was served frequently, and passengers often dropped a line overboard while waiting for a lock to open. Duck, goose, turkey, pigeon, squirrel and deer were served on first-class packets. Drivers collected chickens, sweet corn and other delicacies which they found along the tow-paths. William Dean Howells once described the arrival of a packet at Hamilton. Howells commented upon the grand manner in which the boat came to dock and showed the deck jammed with passengers and the captain aloof on deck. Howells, like Nye, loved the romance of the canal which tied city with country and gave glamor for a time to transportation.

For years, of course, the canal threaded its way through Cincinnati. Citizens were as familiar with boats as they were with street cars. At one time the *Times-Star* sponsored a Canal Swimmers Society, inviting to membership any boy who had swum in the canal. In 1888, Machinery Hall, built for the Cincinnati Exposition, was constructed over the canal, so that visitors might float along and lazily view the fair's exhibits, but the trip stirred only the memories of old canalers who knew the bright, boom days of Ohio's inland waterways.

⁸³ P. R. Nye, *Canal Poems*, MS. (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library).

Politics and Big Business

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES was inaugurated on a dark, cloudy, chilly day. He had previously resigned his governorship of Ohio, and the lieutenant-governor, Thomas L. Young, assumed the gubernatorial duties. At noon on March 5, 1877, the doors of the Senate chamber were thrown open, and Grant and Hayes, arm in arm, proceeded down the aisle. Spectators, watching the historic event, said that Hayes was handsome, faultlessly dressed and that he carried himself well.¹ The oath of office was administered on a platform erected before the east entrance of the Capitol. Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite of Toledo read the oath. With a slight flush upon his cheeks and with eyes bright, the President stooped to kiss the Bible. He read his inaugural address in a clear, strong voice, but the wind made it difficult for a crowd of some twenty thousand persons to catch his words.² Even newspaper reporters pressed closer and strained their ears.

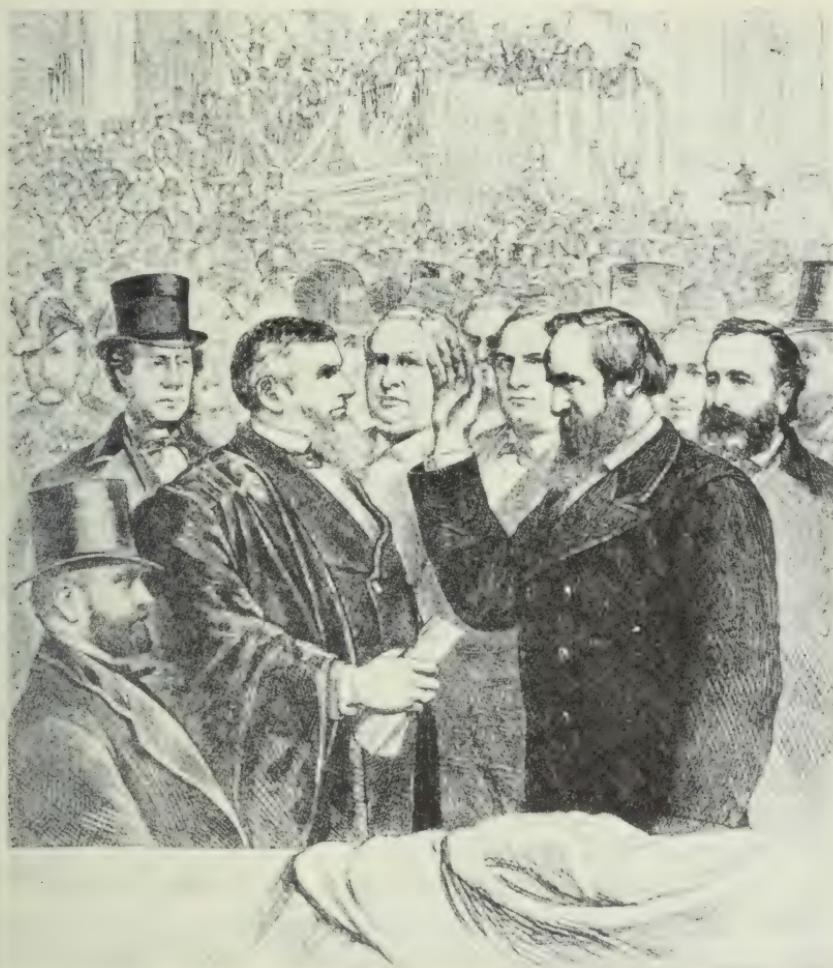
The presidential campaign of 1876 had been thrilling throughout Ohio and the Nation. Politicians and the public had given the election both thought and energy. Cleveland Republicans were urged to go to the polls rain or shine and were informed that a vote for Hayes was a ballot against Tilden and the Confederate war claims.³ It was also maintained that Hayes's election was in the best interests of the people and especially of the business community.⁴ Support of Hayes and Wheeler was declared support of "Honest Money, Unsectarian Schools, Protection to all our citizens, white and black, North and South, and the maintenance of the principles

¹ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Mar. 6, 1877.

² Cincinnati *Gazette*, Mar. 6, 1877.

³ Cleveland *Leader*, Nov. 7, 1876.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1876.



10. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES TAKING THE PRESIDENTIAL OATH
Harper's Weekly, Mar. 24, 1877.

for which the blood of the Union soldiers was shed in the rebellion.”⁵

“Take a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat,” said the Cleveland *Leader*,

⁵ *Ibid.*, June 17, 1876.

with its tongue in its cheek in 1876, "and he will be a curious animal. No matter what sort of a candidate his party will put up—whether it be Jeff Davis, Boss Tweed, George H. Pendleton, or Joe Poe—he will vote for him. If the principle of the Democracy should be for soft money this year, he will yell in favor of that kind of money; if it should be for hard money next, he will accommodate himself to the change of front and bawl out for hard money; if the Democrats are for high tariff this and free trade next year, the dyed-in-the-wool will accept the change very complacently; if his leader tells him to go for inflation, he obeys; if he tells him to go for contraction, he will do so equally as quick; if he is ordered to go for resumption this year, he will do so meekly; if ordered bye and bye to go for non-resumption, he will be accommodating; one year he will oppose banks from principle, and the next year he will favor banks for the same reason; he will believe religiously that everything is lovely and serene down South, although enough evidence has been laid before him to hang a regiment of men that the blacks have been massacred by the shot-gun policy; he will be one thing to the Catholics, another to the Protestants, and another to the Mormons, all for the sake of the Democracy; he will defend rioters as long as they are Democrats, and will denounce rioters provided they are Republicans, and yet the hard-shell, dyed-in-the-wool actually pretends to think that he is governed in all cases by principle!"⁶

President Hayes, fifty-four years of age, demonstrated clearly that he was not going to be the satirist of his own administration as Grant had been.⁷ While Grant looked lost and disinterested,⁸ Hayes spoke of the need for permanent peace between the North and the South. He emphasized the necessity for honest and peaceful self-government in the South and called upon men of both parties to cooperate in the arduous task of restoring the southern states to their rightful place in the Union. "Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States," he said, "that it is my earnest desire to regard

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1876.

⁷ "General Grant's Political Career," *Nation* (New York), XXIV (1877), 127.

⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Mar. 6, 1877.

and promote their truest interests, the interests of the white and the colored people, both and equally, and to put forth my best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will forever wipe out from our political affairs the color line and the distinction between North and South, in the end that we may not have merely a united North or a united South, but a united country.”⁹

He spoke of the need for civil service reform in strong terms and made it clear that he meant appointment for competency, and tenure during good behavior. He recommended an amendment to the Constitution extending the presidential term to six years and forbidding reelection. He declared himself in favor of early resumption of specie payment and advocated the use of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes. He sought to console Democrats disappointed in the election by saying that the electoral commission was the best that could be created. If the result was not satisfactory, he said, then it must be remembered that “human judgment is never unerring, and is rarely regarded as otherwise than wrong by the unsuccessful party.” He concluded by praying after the fashion of the Episcopal liturgy “that all things may be so ordered and settled upon the best and surest foundation, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established among us for all generations.”

Public reaction to this address generally was satisfactory. The *New York Times* thought the language dispassionate, sincere and earnest, and the *New York Tribune* said that although neither the Ku-Klux nor the carpetbagger would find much comfort in it, the real South would take heart in hearing it. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* felt that Hayes demonstrated firmness, prudence and broad statesmanship. The Chicago *Tribune* indicated that the President was relying upon the intelligence and justice of the people rather than upon party discipline and cohesion. The *New York Sun*, on the other hand, felt that Hayes had engaged in dull generalities.¹⁰

In New Orleans, the *Democrat* and the *Bee* both expressed ap-

⁹ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Mar. 6, 1877.

¹⁰ Quoted in *Cincinnati Gazette*, Mar. 6, 1877.

proval, and in St. Louis, the *Times* characterized the speech as abounding in platitudes and fine promises. The Augusta (Georgia) *Chronicle* considered it a manly, moderate and statesmanlike address. In Charleston, South Carolina, the *News and Courier* felt that Hayes had not been positive or decisive.¹¹ The Cincinnati *Enquirer*, of course, said simply that the message really contained only two matters of interest—"a sickly, hypocritical plea for Southern support, and an apology for accepting the gift of the Washington Returning Board."¹² Other Ohio journals interpreted the speech in the light of their political bias.

Hayes's cabinet contained only one Ohioan, John Sherman, who was named secretary of the treasury. The President, however, appointed Edward F. Noyes, minister to France, and James M. Comly, minister to Hawaii. He had early determined that no person connected with him by blood or marriage would be appointed to office.¹³ Despite Hayes's earnest effort to form an administration which would do credit to his campaign pledges, the circumstances under which he entered office were discouraging. In the first place, Tilden had secured a popular majority while Hayes's claim to office rested upon only one vote in the electoral college. Then, again, the new President was faced with a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives and only a narrow Republican plurality in the Senate. In addition, Hayes's southern policy led to violent difference of opinion within his own party.¹⁴

Senator George F. Hoar once said that Hayes's worst foes were of his own household. He was referring primarily to Blaine and Conkling both of whom were disappointed aspirants for the presidency.¹⁵ Neither gave Hayes his full support. Conkling's lieutenant in the New York Republican organization, Thomas Collier Platt, united with his master in the revolt against the President. They both took

¹¹ Quoted in Cincinnati *Commercial*, Mar. 7, 1877.

¹² Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Mar. 6, 1877.

¹³ Charles R. Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Columbus, 1926), III, 429.

¹⁴ Clifford H. Moore, "Ohio in National Politics, 1865-1896," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXXVII (1928), 304-5.

¹⁵ George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (New York, 1905), II, 7.



11. A CARTOONIST'S VERSION OF THE HAYES-TILDEN CONTROVERSY
Harper's Weekly, Feb. 3, 1877.

delight in barbed epithets flung at Hayes. Platt's excoriation of Hayes did not add to the President's affection for the New York, Conkling-dominated crowd.¹⁶ Perhaps some of Platt's bitterness may have been caused by his disappointment at not being named postmaster-general and by the suspicion that he had been double-crossed by his political friends of the Empire State.¹⁷ Hayes once said that Conkling was like Butler but "more powerful because he is vindictive and not restrained by conscience."¹⁸ In Ohio, Benjamin Wade ("Old Ben Wade") joined the malcontents and castigated Hayes as a deceiver and betrayer. Wade held that Hayes's election meant the destruction of the Republican party.¹⁹ The Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* in a special dispatch predicted a "deplorable" administration and said that Hayes was "neither milk nor water" and did not possess the courage to say "no."²⁰ It also pointed out that Hayes's backbone must rest among the spareribs of some slaughterhouse as it could not be located under his coat.²¹

The Congress, meanwhile, campaigned to embarrass the President. It began by attaching riders to appropriation bills. Hayes bitterly resented this type of coercion, but he had already, by presidential decree, withdrawn the support of the federal troops from the irresponsible Republican governments in the South.²² In addition to Hayes's southern policy, the politically dangerous question of resumption led to schism between the President and part of his party. Despite violent agitation for the repeal of the Resumption Act, Hayes went steadily ahead on the sound-money principles which he had enunciated in his campaign.²³ In Ohio, Thomas Ewing opposed the Resumption Act with vigor. In January, 1878, the Ohio

¹⁶ Louis J. Lang, ed., *The Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt* (New York, 1910), 85-93.

¹⁷ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 515.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 514.

¹⁹ "The Week," *Nation*, XXIV (1877), 242.

²⁰ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Mar. 26, 1877.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Mar. 27, 1877.

²² Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 529.

²³ Charles R. Williams, *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (New York, 1914), II, chap. XXX.

legislature resolved that the immediate restoration of the silver dollar to its former rank as legal tender for all debts was imperative. Senator Stanley Matthews, elected to complete Sherman's unexpired term, wanted to oil the machinery of American business by coining as many silver dollars as might be necessary. The Ohio State Democratic Convention of 1877 demanded the passage of a law restoring to silver its monetary power.²⁴ The Cincinnati *Enquirer* added its voice to the growing din which called for financial reform.²⁵ Although the sage Mr. Dooley may not have been entirely correct, there was some truth in his statement that "Th' whole currency question is a mather iv lungs."²⁶

The opposition to what Hayes believed to be sound monetary policy was expressed in the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 which ordered the United States Treasury to purchase between two million dollars and four million dollars in silver monthly. Hayes, acting in strict accord with his policy, vetoed the bill on the ground that it was a stain upon the national honor and a violation of the national faith.²⁷ Despite advice from intimate advisers and Republican leaders, Hayes felt that even if the bill were passed over his veto, as it was, he was justified in disapproving it. As Hayes's veto message was read by the clerk, Alexander H. Stephens rolled about in his chair and pattered his thin feet nervously upon the floor. Benjamin Butler listened impassively so that spectators could not tell what he was thinking. Cox, of New York, said that the veto was a fraud by a fraud.²⁸ General Garfield was the only member of Congress from Ohio who supported the presidential veto.

In Ohio, it was felt by some that the passage of the Bland-Allison Act assured a reign of prosperity.²⁹ The Cincinnati *Enquirer* did not even give the President credit for his courage in vetoing the bill, but said that Hayes's action was dictated by "Sherman, the

²⁴ Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1877 (New York, 1889), 619.

²⁵ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 4, 1877.

²⁶ F. P. Dunne, *Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War* (Boston, 1899), 180.

²⁷ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 459, 460.

²⁸ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Mar. 1, 1878.

²⁹ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Mar. 1, 1878.

vicious Minister of Finance; Schurz, the renegade; Evarts, the tool of New York, and Devens, the clerk of New England.”³⁰ In general, the act was interpreted in Ohio as a victory for the West and a defeat for the East. The Chicago *Journal*, however, praised Hayes’s courage. The Evansville (Indiana) *Courier* said the veto message was solemnly ignorant.³¹ In 1879, as directed by the Resumption Act of 1875, the secretary of the treasury resumed specie payment, and the Nation again was on a gold basis.

Hayes’s southern policy was simple and in line with his personal beliefs. He withdrew federal troops from garrisons in South Carolina and Louisiana and thus returned those states to white, Democratic control.³² With the removal of soldiers from the South, Hayes hoped for peace and for security for the colored population. He insisted, however, that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments be faithfully observed.³³ The President’s attempt to secure civil service reform met with little success as the Congress was out of sympathy with the movement and refused assistance until 1883 when the Pendleton Act was passed after Hayes had retired to private life.³⁴ Hayes fully recognized his unpopularity and was aware of his mistakes but, in general, he felt that his course had been right. He thought he had been firm and self-possessed on difficult and trying occasions. “I am not liked as a President,” he said at the close of his first year in office, “by the politicians in office, in the press, or in Congress. But I am content to abide the judgment—the sober second thought—of the people.”³⁵ As his term wore on he let it be known that he was uninterested in securing the nomination again, and politicians thereafter gradually turned away from the President and interested themselves in selecting a successor. When Hayes left the White House in 1881, he felt gratified at the results

³⁰ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Mar. 1, 1878.

³¹ Quoted in Cincinnati *Gazette*, Mar. 2, 1878.

³² Williams, *Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, II, chap. XXVIII.

³³ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 430.

³⁴ Williams, *Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, II, chap. XXIX; C. B. Galbreath, “Ohio’s Contribution to National Civil Service Reform,” *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXXIII (1924), 191–3.

³⁵ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 462–3.

and closing scenes of his administration, but he was not unhappy to return to Spiegel Grove and the enthusiastic reception given him by old friends and neighbors.³⁶

Had Hayes read over his old correspondence when he returned to Fremont, he might have come across a letter written when he was staging his strenuous campaign for governor in 1875 and, in his heart of hearts, he might have confessed that he had been, as the letter indicated, "a soldier in war, a statesman in peace, the friend of Education, Industry, and Benevolence, as well as of Commerce, Agriculture, and Manufactures."³⁷ *The Nation* said that his administration had been free from scandal, but that it was not the reform period which had been promised.³⁸

As Hayes toiled in the executive offices, events in Ohio were taxing the strength of the people and of politicians. A period of economic depression, beginning with the Panic of 1873, continued to engulf the laboring man, to make difficult the expansion of business, and to render the farmer timid. Corn had dropped in price from fifty-nine cents to twenty-two cents a bushel and wheat had decreased from \$1.07 to eighty-nine cents between 1871 and 1875. Over half of the iron furnaces of the State went out of business between 1873 and 1878. Wages were cut generally. Ohio miners, in particular, complained of the high cost of living and low incomes. Strikes, labor disputes, riots and great uneasiness among the laboring classes confused the picture still further.

Governor T. L. Young conducted his affairs of office in the midst of widespread unrest in a creditable manner. Like other politicians, he did not forget his old comrades-in-arms. Upon one occasion, the governor pressed the claims of a soldier whose wife was the daughter of an old sergeant, "a comrade of mine in the 3d. Artillery twenty-five years ago."³⁹ A loyal member of the Mexican Veteran Associa-

³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 649-50.

³⁷ William Jay Murphy to R. B. Hayes, New York, Aug. 18, 1875, Hayes MSS. (Hayes Memorial Library.)

³⁸ "Mr. Hayes's Administration," *Nation*, XXXII (1881), 144.

³⁹ T. L. Young to W. T. Sherman, Columbus, May 25, 1877, Executive Letter Book, 1877-1878 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 253.

tion, Young wrote in 1877 that any measure which would inure to their benefit would command his "humble influence."⁴⁰ The seriousness with which a conscientious governor took his pardon duties is seen in the case of Young. "Last evening at 8 o'clock," wrote the Governor, "I took all the papers filed in the 'Bergen Case' including the Record and having retired to my room have carefully read and considered every one of them. I entered on this duty with my heart full of sympathy for the poor old Mother and for the unfortunate boy himself."⁴¹ Yet the pardon situation always was filled with dynamite. Pressure was brought to bear and exaggerated rumors circulated as to what a governor would or would not do. Young was forced in one instance to spike a rumor that twenty-five dollars would purchase a pardon.⁴²

As business continued to be slow, wheat weak, oats quiet and barley dull, wages low and costs high, both major parties in Ohio attempted to gain support by platforms calculated to raise the hopes and lure the votes of the people.⁴³ In June, 1877, key Democrats met in Columbus to chalk out a policy and to set the time for the State convention which was held during the latter part of July. Gus Sleich sagely observed that the Democratic party "succeeded best when it had its time, place, and platform from principles right in themselves, and not from any reference to the policy of the opposition."⁴⁴ Senator Thurman feared that the Republicans might come out in favor of the silver dollar, but felt that such action probably would not be taken.⁴⁵

Early in June, Columbus citizens were startled to see handbills printed in brilliant green ink appear on walls and in hotel lobbies. In the center was portrayed an enormous greenback, on one end, George Washington couchant, on the other the Goddess of Liberty rampant. This flamboyant poster announced a convention of an

⁴⁰ *Id.* to S. Alex, Columbus, Sept. 25, 1877, *ibid.*, 333.

⁴¹ *Id.* to George M. Morgan, Columbus, Dec. 4, 1877, *ibid.*, 372.

⁴² Rodney Foos to Mrs. Sarah Morgan, Columbus, Aug. 4, 1877, *ibid.*, 334.

⁴³ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Mar. 1, 1878.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1877.

⁴⁵ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 1, 1877.

"Independent Greenback Club."⁴⁶ A platform, adopted without discussion, called for the payment of bonds at or before maturity, according to the laws under which they were issued, the remonetization of silver coin, non-sectarian schools, wholesome control by the Government over all corporate bodies, and the fostering of the resources of the country to the end that labor might be fully and profitably employed. It called for a graduated income tax, demanded that legal-tender currency be fully restored, and asked that the national bank law be repealed. Stephen Johnson, of Miami, was nominated for governor, and Christopher Lewis, of Franklin, lieutenant-governor.⁴⁷ It was said in some quarters that the actions of the Greenback party, as it became known, would disorganize both old parties and would inure to the benefit of neither.⁴⁸ A Prohibition party, meeting in Columbus in February, had concerned itself primarily with matters of drink and ethics and did not touch financial affairs in its platform.⁴⁹

When the Democrats met in Columbus on July 25, they observed both a State and a Nation writhing in the turmoil of a great railroad strike. Business was paralyzed and chaos disorganized the regular channels of trade. The description of the situation given by the Cincinnati *Enquirer* represented the typical Democratic point of view. "At last the storm has burst upon us in the shape of a popular uprising against monopolies and monopolists. The money power, prompted by their greed, have for years not only controlled the Congress of the United States, but the President, and have run both Houses in their interest." This editorial assigned the following reasons for the collapse of economic security: the Act of 1869 by which bonds, payable in greenbacks, were made payable in gold, "thereby robbing the people of over five hundred millions of dollars"; the demonetization of silver "that had for eighty years performed the functions of money"; and the passage of the Resump-

⁴⁶ Cincinnati *Gazette*, June 7, 1877.

⁴⁷ Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, 620.

⁴⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 7, 1877.

⁴⁹ Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, 618.

tion Act "which is the main cause for all our present trouble."⁵⁰

The railroad strike which spread westward from Pennsylvania was caused primarily by reduction of wages. Train crews maintained that they could not live adequately upon their reduced wage scale. In Newark, Ohio, a young worker was quoted as saying: "We were driven to this. It's only \$1.58 a day for the best man, and none of us get over three days' work in a week. The longer we work the deeper we are in debt, and it is awful on them with families."⁵¹ As more and more Baltimore and Ohio firemen and brakemen ceased work, freight piled up in yards, violence increased, and clashes occurred between strikers and peace officers. In Baltimore, militia with fixed bayonets drove off strikers who were attempting to tear up tracks and uncouple cars. In Pittsburgh, a mob broke into gun shops and carried away arms and ammunition valued at more than three thousand dollars. Fourteen persons were killed and sixteen wounded in clashes between police and members of the Train Men's Union.⁵²

The excitement quickly spread to Ohio, Indiana and westward. In Cleveland, a volunteer police corps was organized to protect life and property. At Cincinnati, the city was thrown into unrest when four companies of militia, armed with breech-loading rifles, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to entrain for Newark. Governor Young called upon the people of Ohio to organize themselves into volunteer police forces sufficiently strong to overawe lawless elements.⁵³ At the same time the Workingmen's party met to pass a series of resolutions which criticized the administration as corrupt, said that men were starving, that thousands of tramps were hitting the highways, that neither great political party had a real interest in the laborer and that only labor could save itself. Hayes was characterized as a man who gave workmen bullets instead of bread. G. Lubke, editor of *Die Arbeiter von Ohio*, said that the United States had become divided into two classes—"the working-

⁵⁰ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 25, 1877.

⁵¹ *Cincinnati Gazette*, July 21, 1877.

⁵² *Cincinnati Commercial*, July 22, 1877.

⁵³ J. A. Dacus, *Annals of the Great Strikes* (St. Louis, 1877), 274.

men who were on the point of starvation, and the monopolists, who sat on bags of gold and rolled in wealth."⁵⁴

In Zanesville, Crestline, Alliance, Steubenville, Lancaster and elsewhere, disturbances threatened the peace, train service was interrupted, and mail and perishable freight stood unattended upon sidings. In Dayton, about four thousand workers attended a mass meeting to protest against low wages. In Columbus, mobs raided private establishments, closed rolling mills, machine shops and factories on the west side of the river. As a result, five hundred citizens enrolled themselves as special police.⁵⁵ When six hundred miners started from New Straitsville to Newark to attack the militia ordered there by Governor Young, it seemed that heavy bloodshed in Ohio could not be averted, but the miners altered their tactics when met by a delegation of citizens who informed them that the militia was massed at the depot.⁵⁶ By early August the situation throughout Ohio had quieted sufficiently to permit troops to be withdrawn from most points at which they had been stationed.

Hayes took a keen interest in the strike situation and watched it closely from Washington. He believed that strikes had to be put down by force, but wrote that force was not the real remedy. He hoped that something might be done to educate strikers, to control capitalists judiciously and to formulate a wise, general policy to end or diminish labor disputes. He pointed out that railroad strikers, as a rule, were good, sober, intelligent and industrious men, but he also listed the evils of striking. Strikes, he said, prevent men who are willing to work from doing so; they result in the seizure and holding of employers' property; and they furnish excitement which gives criminal classes an opportunity to destroy life and property.⁵⁷

In the midst of confusion, the Democrats formulated their State program and nominated R. M. Bishop, a conservative Cincinnati wholesale grocer and trustee of the Southern Railroad, for gover-

⁵⁴ *Cincinnati Commercial*, July 22, 1877.

⁵⁵ *Cincinnati Gazette*, July 24, 1877.

⁵⁶ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1877, II, 574; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 24, 1877.

⁵⁷ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 440.

nor. He was described as an "eminently respectable" man much too solid to be a radical, inflationist, or any other sort of political incendiary.⁵⁸ The Cincinnati *Enquirer* predicted that Bishop would be the next governor and expressed approval at the choice of his running-mate, J. W. Fitch, of Cleveland.⁵⁹ Another editor sneered that the Democrats had elected a man who could ride the Elephant.⁶⁰

The Democratic platform denounced the election of Hayes as a fraud, said that the destruction of industry and the pauperism of labor were the inevitable fruits of Republican doctrines, demanded the immediate repeal of the Resumption Act and the passage of a law restoring silver to its monetary value, favored the retention of greenback currency "as the best money we ever had," and recommended a tariff for revenue only.⁶¹

The Republicans met in Cleveland on the first of August to prepare a slate and write a platform. Two outstanding Ohio Republicans were considered as gubernatorial possibilities—Judge William H. West, of Bellefontaine, and Alphonso Taft, of Cincinnati. Taft apparently wished to be courted by the convention and maintained that he would refuse the nomination if it were offered him. On the other hand, there were many who felt him perfectly sincere and interpreted the movement to nominate him only as a rebuke to Hayes. As Taft's support waned, that of West increased. West, known as "the blind man eloquent," responded to his nomination which took place on the second ballot, in language as ornate and embellished as he could devise.⁶²

His fondness for fine language and his misjudging of the political situation was to result in his defeat. The Republican platform contained little which was unusual. It reaffirmed the unfaltering confidence of Ohio Republicans in Hayes, resolved in favor of both silver and gold as money, demanded the remonetization of

⁵⁸ Cincinnati *Gazette*, July 26, 1877.

⁵⁹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, July 26, 1877.

⁶⁰ Columbus *Ohio State Journal* quoted in Cincinnati *Commercial*, July 27, 1877.

⁶¹ Appletons' *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, 619.

⁶² Cincinnati *Commercial*, Aug. 2, 1877.

silver, opposed further grants of the public domain to railroads, and viewed with alarm the disturbed condition of the country.⁶³ It was left to West and Ferdinand Vogeler, who had been nominated as lieutenant-governor, to carry through the principles expressed in the State platform. On August 2, however, Judge West made an address which alienated him from the conservative elements of the Republican party and which, coupled with other factors, made possible the election of his Democratic opponent.

"I am no railroad officer," West said, "and never was, and never will be. I hold no railroad bonds, or railroad stocks, that my interests be different from those of any other man, and never did. . . . I chance to be the son of as humble a mechanic as any that now stands before me. I chanced in my early life to receive my early education at the forge, blowing the bellows and wielding the sledge." West said he would like to try an experiment of prohibiting the great railroad corporations from reducing their rates in order that they might pay just wages to their laborers. "I would arrange and fix a minimum of prices for all who labor in the mines and upon the railroads," he said.⁶⁴ The Faran and McLean interests were right when they said that if Judge West continued in the same vein he would frighten capital away from Republican strongholds.⁶⁵

That is precisely what happened. Republicans veered away from West's radicalism, were vexed at Hayes's moderate southern policy, and thereby deflected sufficient votes, together with those of persons who opposed the resumption policy of the party, to give Bishop 271,625 votes as against West's 249,105.

The inaugural address of Governor Bishop concerned itself primarily with the economic unrest which had agitated the State. He called for an honest administration and rigid economy, urged that class legislation be avoided, suggested an investigation of the public works of the State, advocated that the surroundings of the poor and unfortunate in State institutions be respectable and comfort-

⁶³ Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1877, 619-20.

⁶⁴ Cleveland *Leader* quoted in Cincinnati *Commercial*, Aug. 3, 1877.

⁶⁵ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Aug. 3, 1877.

able, but said that it was questionable whether criminals should receive a "premium of blessings," and spoke of three evils which needed attention. He referred to the "unequal, unjust, and, therefore, comparatively unproductive system of taxation," to the "confused, extravagant and badly managed system of municipal, or city and town government," and to the "clumsy, exceedingly dilatory and generally odious system of courts, or judiciary."⁶⁶

"Words are cheap, but they butter no parsnips," commented an editor who complained that the inaugural speech was sentimental rather than specific.⁶⁷ In general, the reaction of the Ohio press was lukewarm and followed the same criticism. Even the *Cincinnati Enquirer* which should have been friendly to a Democratic governor, thought Bishop was non-committal.⁶⁸ On the other hand, it would have been difficult, indeed, for Governor Bishop to have written a prescription for the economic ills which were plaguing the State.

The Bishop administration was not impressive. It passed about a hundred and fifty acts, among them several which reorganized the reformatory and benevolent institutions of the State, so that their control fell into Democratic hands. Another act redistricted the State in advance of the regular redistribution of congressional seats following the census of 1880. A dramatic incident which occurred at this time was the investigation of John O'Connor, Republican representative from Montgomery County, who was charged with being a bounty-jumper during the Civil War, a deserter, and a penitentiary convict convicted on charges of grand larceny. O'Connor finally admitted the truth of the charges when proof was brought forward, and his seat was declared vacant. No effective action, as was pointed out by Republicans, was taken to cure economic ills.

In general, however, Bishop was a fairly competent governor. He interested himself in the laboring man and wished when possible

⁶⁶ *Ohio Exec. Doc., 1877*, III, 111-9.

⁶⁷ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 15, 1878.

⁶⁸ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 15, 1878.

to appoint representatives of labor to State commissions.⁶⁹ He was vexed, as were so many other chief executives, by both the liquor and the pardon problems. When a candidate for a State library position wrote Bishop that the candidate understood the Governor would not appoint him because the applicant drank intoxicating liquors, Bishop replied curtly. He said that he would never let his private prejudices interfere with his public duty and that he did not undertake the "reformation of the habits or morals of the Democratic party of Ohio."⁷⁰ In general, Bishop, besieged as he was with requests for pardons, refused to grant any unless the usual rules and requirements of law were complied with.⁷¹ Upon one occasion, however, Bishop pardoned a convicted criminal on the condition that he abstain entirely from the use of all intoxicating drink.⁷²

The elections of 1878 were unimportant as only Congressmen were to be voted upon, but they possessed a real significance in the fact that they marked the climax in Ohio of the greenback controversy. On February 22, inflationists and laborites from twenty-eight states met in Toledo to organize the National party. The party dated its origin from the nomination of Peter Cooper for the presidency on May 17, 1876, at a meeting held in Indianapolis. At Toledo, Francis W. Hughes, of Pennsylvania, was named president of the convention.

Although the National party's platform was described as of little moment and queer, nevertheless it represented a growing sentiment in the Nation.⁷³ The Nationals were fully aware of the economic unrest which had depreciated real estate values, paralyzed industry, depressed trade, reduced income and wages, and inflicted distress upon the poor and middle classes. They maintained that this deplorable state of affairs had been brought about by the influence of "Big Business" and bankers. They charged that neither

⁶⁹ R. M. Bishop to G. W. Andrews, Columbus, Dec. 19, 1878, Executive Letter Book, 1878-1879 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 805.

⁷⁰ Robt. F. Hurlbutt to R. W. Jones, Columbus, Jan. 18, 1878, *ibid.*, 11-12.

⁷¹ *Id.* to M. J. Counts, Columbus, July 5, 1878, *ibid.*, 35.

⁷² *Id.* to Daniel Boyce, Columbus, July 19, 1878, *ibid.*, 381.

⁷³ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1878.

the Republican nor the Democratic parties had made any real effort to alleviate conditions. Therefore, they called for a supply of money adequate for the full employment of labor, the suppression of national bank notes, reduction of the length of the working day and recommended that the coinage of silver be placed upon the same footing as that of gold. They urged also the establishment of national and state bureaus of labor and of labor and industrial statistics. They opposed the contract system of prison labor and recommended legislation suppressing the "importation of servile labor" from China.⁷⁴

There is no doubt that the formation of the National party with what appeared to be a platform constructed for the benefit of the common man worried both old-line parties. Democrats felt that the organization was stealing its greenback thunder and Republicans worried lest large numbers of votes would be drawn to the new standard. Democratic editors maintained that no loyal party member should desert and enlist as a National warrior on account either of the name of the new organization or of its principles.⁷⁵ That there was good reason for this fear appeared when ballots were counted, and it was found that the National party had cast over thirty-eight thousand votes in Ohio, and about a million in the Nation as a whole.

In their State conventions of June, 1878, both major parties sought to prevent possible damage by National party men. In Columbus, Senator Thurman and other Democratic leaders sat in the Neil House, were serenaded by Currier's band and issued statements that they "gloried" in the State platform of the previous convention. Democrats with "carmen hues" on their noses thronged saloons, crowded restaurants and huddled together in informal caucuses.⁷⁶ They were worried. Even the astute Thurman who preferred to manipulate politics by inviting chosen groups of workers to his hotel room was uncertain as to the better course of action. Finally,

⁷⁴ *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, (New York, 1889), 807.

⁷⁵ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Feb. 23, 1878.

⁷⁶ *Cincinnati Gazette*, June 26, 1878.

he determined to stand squarely upon the platform of his party, embrace inflation and attempt to justify his actions with his previous record. As it was well known that he had opposed inflation in 1875, Thurman's stand was interpreted by some as a betrayal of the party. In August, Thurman attempted to explain his actions in a speech delivered in Hamilton.⁷⁷ He maintained that he had steadily opposed contraction, had voted against resumption and had been a champion for the restoration of silver.

When the Democratic platform became public it created little enthusiasm. It again attacked the Republican party and "Big Business" as the cause of economic chaos. It decried the "merciless policy of contracting the paper currency and hoarding gold," and it pledged itself to right the wrongs of the workingman.⁷⁸ But suspicion was in the wind. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* thought that the best platform for the Democrats would be a short one and said that if Senator Thurman "is not a hard-money man he has been greatly misunderstood."⁷⁹ Later, the *Enquirer* was to say of Thurman that it was better to be right than to be consistent. Other editors were not as kind. They referred to the Democratic platform as "idiotic" and filled with a "muddle of crude, loose, fraudulent and foolish assertions."⁸⁰ The Cleveland *Leader* said that Thurman had embraced a false god with open eyes just when the tinsel and glitter was being ripped away.⁸¹

The Republican convention was held in Cincinnati at the Music Hall. It was caustically suggested that the medical colleges of Cincinnati would never have a better opportunity to secure dead bodies, as the Music Hall was crowded with them.⁸² John Welch, at the opening session, assured assembled delegates that the Republican party was not dead, but slumbering.⁸³ When the platform was

⁷⁷ Columbus *Ohio Statesman*, Aug. 13, 1878.

⁷⁸ Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1878, 667-8.

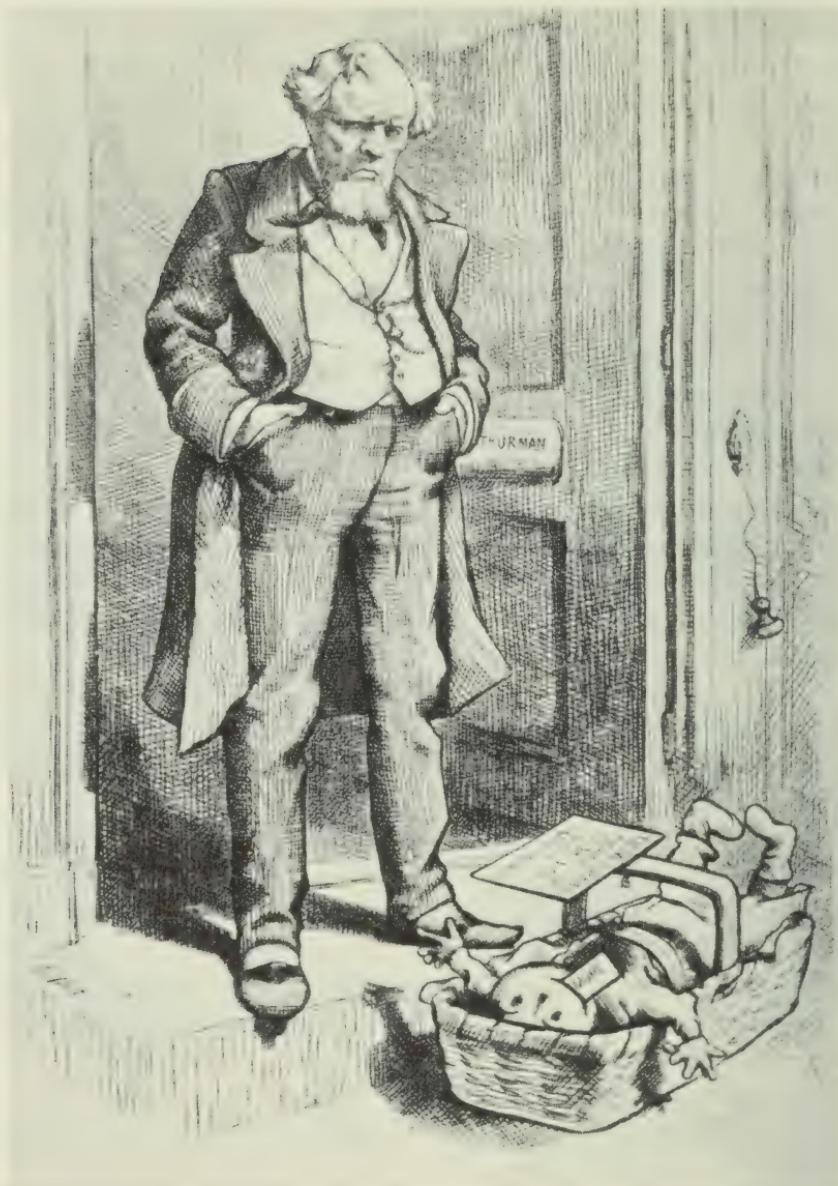
⁷⁹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 26, 1878.

⁸⁰ Cincinnati *Commercial*, June 29, 1878.

⁸¹ Cleveland *Leader*, Oct. 16, 1878.

⁸² Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 12, 1878.

⁸³ Cincinnati *Commercial*, June 13, 1878.



12. SENATOR THURMAN FINDS A "RAG BABY" ON HIS STEPS
Harper's Weekly, Sept. 4, 1875.

written and approved, it contained much of a general nature and little of the specific. It opposed further agitation of the financial question, made friendly overtures to the South, stood squarely behind Hayes's election, approved a tariff for revenue, asked for economy in State spending, endorsed an inspection law for Ohio mines, and warned the people of the "dangerous character of the Democratic party."⁸⁴ The *Cincinnati Enquirer* characterized the platform with words from the Bard of Stratford:⁸⁵

"Now let it work! Mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt."

In the ensuing election, Melton Barnes, Republican, was elected secretary of state; William White, Republican, was named to the Ohio Supreme Court; and George Paul, Republican, found a place on the Board of Public Works. In addition, eleven Democratic Congressmen were elected and nine Republicans. These results were not entirely pleasing to either party, and plans were made to carry the currency question into the gubernatorial elections of the following year.

When Democratic delegates flocked into Columbus on June 4, 1879, it was said that "rural roosters were crowing for Uncle Dick" Bishop, but it also was indicated that the party had complicated knots to untie.⁸⁶ The *Cincinnati Enquirer* sensed an Ewing boom and prepared its readers for the nomination of the inflationist from Lancaster.⁸⁷ Thomas Ewing, Jr., was nominated by General L. A. Harris of Cincinnati. The endorsement was enthusiastically received by the convention, and Ewing's name was flashed over the country as a man who had inherited "soft money" as a "reverential bequest" from his father.⁸⁸ Ewing was the son of Thomas Ewing who had served as a Whig Senator and secretary of the treasury in the Harrison administration in 1841. The boy received his early train-

⁸⁴ *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, 667.

⁸⁵ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 13, 1878.

⁸⁶ *Cincinnati Commercial*, June 4; *Cincinnati Gazette*, June 4, 1879.

⁸⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 4, 1879.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1879.

ing in Ohio and when nineteen years of age had become one of President Taylor's secretaries. He served in the Civil War and then settled in Washington, D. C., where he practised law. In 1870, he returned to Ohio and settled in Lancaster where he became a prominent member of the inflationist wing of the Democratic party. He retired from politics in 1881 and moved to New York City where he practised law until his death in 1896.⁸⁹ Ewing's running mate was A. V. Rice.

The Democrats took great pains to demonstrate that all friction had disappeared among them after Ewing's nomination. In Washington, D. C., Ewing was serenaded and, at the same time, Senator Thurman declared that the Ohio Democracy was united and moving forward to victory as one man.⁹⁰ The platform upon which Ewing and Rice stood was worthy of consideration. Financially, the document reaffirmed the principles previously advocated, demanded the gradual substitution of Treasury notes for national bank currency, and insisted upon the full restoration of silver to "its original place as a money metal, the same as gold." In addition, the platform urged free and fair elections, denounced all interference with elections by the military power, and criticized Hayes for his frequent use of the veto. It also proclaimed that impartial juries are essential to the administration of justice.⁹¹

Ewing was pitted against a formidable opponent. Ohio Republicans had nominated Charles Foster at their convention held in Cincinnati on May 28. Foster had been born in Fostoria, had received his schooling in Ohio, and had been active in recruiting during the Civil War, but, owing to the wishes of his family, had not seen service. He had inherited a large dry-goods business and had possessed the business acumen to increase his fortunes by successful investments in banking and in gas and oil securities. He entered politics in 1870 and served several terms as a member of Congress.⁹²

⁸⁹ Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1937), VI, 238-9.

⁹⁰ *Cincinnati Commercial*, June 7, 1879.

⁹¹ *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1879 (New York, 1883), 704.

⁹² *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, VI, 544-5.

In Washington, Foster showed extreme tact and "drove his team with a firm but light hand, and kept his head where elder and more experienced men lost their balance completely."⁹³ Physically, the Republican nominee was sinewy and strong, was about medium height, had dark hair, pleasant, light eyes, and wore full whiskers sprinkled with gray.⁹⁴ He was affable and genial in manner and known to all as "Charlie." Despite jibes of Democratic newspapers that Foster had spent his time during the Civil War measuring calico and references to him as "Calico Charlie," Foster made a strong candidate. Republicans turned opposition ridicule to good account, wore calico badges and even printed a newspaper upon calico cloth.

As the campaign continued, the political eyes of the Nation were turned to Ohio for it was thought that the election would influence national politics and throw light upon the coming presidential election. A correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing from Columbus, indicated that with the election of a Democratic governor, the chances would be in favor of a Democratic candidate for the presidency carrying the State. On the other hand, if Ohio went Republican in the election of 1879, the odds almost certainly would be that Ohio would go Republican in the forthcoming national contest. The Cincinnati *Gazette* was inclined to quarrel with this view, maintaining that the Ohio election must stand upon its own merits and not be confused with national issues.⁹⁵

As the Ohio campaign progressed, interest became intense. It was said that in certain quarters of the State, especially in the northern counties, Ewing was not well liked even by Democrats. In some staunch Republican minds, it was believed that Ewing would be the worst defeated candidate since Vallandigham's time.⁹⁶ Both candidates stumped the State with vigor. At Ironton, so many Republicans gathered to hear the "truth" from Foster that the as-

⁹³ Cincinnati *Commercial*, June 7, 1879.

⁹⁴ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, May 29, 1879.

⁹⁵ Cincinnati *Gazette*, May 31, 1879.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1879.

semblage was described as looking like "acres of upturned faces."⁹⁷ In West Union, however, loyal Democrats expressed their loyalty to Ewing and their distaste for Foster by parading a calico effigy of Foster in a buggy driven by a miniature Negro.⁹⁸ In September, Blaine journeyed to Ohio to aid the Foster-Republican cause.

The victory of Foster over Ewing by a margin of more than seventeen thousand votes was a signal for rejoicing. Hayes thought it a "valuable victory" which defeated two great issues—inflation and states' rights. He interpreted it also as Ohio's stamp of approval upon his administration.⁹⁹ The saving, common sense of the people, interested in preserving the long-sought prosperity which now was returning to Ohio, was responsible for the defeat of Ewing, declared the *Commercial*.¹⁰⁰ In New York, *The Nation* interpreted, as might be expected, the Ohio results as a political revolution and characterized the Democratic rule as "low in tone, corrupt of purpose, reckless as to means, and dangerous to the welfare and the liberties of the State."¹⁰¹ This frankly partisan view obviously was not endorsed by Democrats who were equally biased. The disappointed Cincinnati *Enquirer* interpreted the results as meaning that "bayonets must rule ballots" and that "calico is king and patriotism and valor go for naught."¹⁰² Frank McKinney, chairman of the Democratic Committee, said that Ewing was defeated because "money is mightier than manhood." In Chicago, Solon Chase, greenback orator from Maine, confessed that the Ohio results tokened no good for a forthcoming Democratic national victory.¹⁰³ The Hancock (Indiana) *Democrat* succinctly commented that the interests of bankers had been protected. In addition, it seemed certain that Thurman's political career was almost ended.

In the national political conventions of 1880 the names of several prominent Ohioans played a major role. When the Republicans

⁹⁷ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Sept. 9, 1879.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1879.

⁹⁹ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 575.

¹⁰⁰ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Oct. 15, 1879.

¹⁰¹ "The Week," *Nation*, XXIX (1879), 249.

¹⁰² Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Oct. 15, 1879.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1879.

met in Chicago early in June, the name of John Sherman, secretary of the treasury, was frequently mentioned as a possible candidate. Sherman had been born in Lancaster, been trained in the law, been a member of the Thirty-fourth Congress where he distinguished himself as a member of a committee appointed to investigate the border troubles in Kansas, and had supported Fremont for the presidency. He was reelected to Congress several times, and in March, 1861, was elected to fill a vacancy in the Senate caused by the resignation of Salmon P. Chase. He was twice reelected to the Senate. Hayes appointed him secretary of the treasury in March, 1877. His attitude on money matters and his belief in specie resumption indicated that he might have a chance at the presidency.

At the convention Sherman was supported by thirty-four of Ohio's forty-four delegates, but this lack of unity seemed sufficient to prevent his nomination. There was strong pressure in certain Republican quarters to draft Grant for a third term, although a Republican Anti-Third Term convention had been held in St. Louis in May. Grant's triumphant tour of Europe and the enthusiastic welcome extended him upon his return appeared to some as an omen that the corruptions of Grant's previous administrations had been forgotten. Still another Republican candidate for the nomination was James G. Blaine. Meanwhile, however, the name of James A. Garfield was being mentioned in the Ohio press.

The convention had not been long in session before the Cincinnati *Gazette* sagely made two comments: "There is a dark horse from Ohio hitched in the underbrush" and "Every time Garfield rises to speak, the convention breaks out in applause. That may mean something."¹⁰⁴ Still earlier, another editor had intimated that Garfield might not throw his whole soul into his speech nominating Sherman.¹⁰⁵ There need have been little fear on this score, however, for Foraker described it as able and said, in addition, that it had an unusual effect because of the popularity of the orator.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Cincinnati *Gazette*, June 4, 1880.

¹⁰⁵ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, May 27, 1880.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph B. Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life* (Cincinnati, 1916), I, 141.

The convention perhaps was one of the most extraordinary ever held up to that time in the Nation. William Henry Smith wrote Hayes that it was a convention of surprises and disappointments. Smith believed that after the deadlock between the Blaine and Grant delegates, the convention might have turned to anyone, and it was only the accidental presence of Garfield in the convention which assured him of the nomination.¹⁰⁷ In addition, it was generally understood that Garfield did not owe his nomination to support from Ohio. The boom for him began with Pennsylvania delegates and Ohio did not swing over to him until the final ballot, the thirty-sixth, when the Ohio contingent gave him forty-three votes, one delegate being absent. When Garfield's nomination was flashed to Columbus a "universal smile diffused itself over the crowd like that of a cat chewing wax."¹⁰⁸ It was said that Garfield was a man who could harmonize all the contending factors of the party and who was a part of all that was good and glorious in the history of the party.¹⁰⁹ Hayes felt that General Garfield's nomination was "altogether good." He told the nominee when Garfield visited him at the White House after the convention that "his personal history as a self-made man would be a most popular feature of the canvas."¹¹⁰ Conkling who had worked so ardently for Grant left the convention remarking, "This is my first and last National Convention."¹¹¹ Grant is reputed to have said: "It is all right; I am satisfied."¹¹²

Despite the belief that there was "treachery" among the Ohio delegates and the charge that both Foster and Garfield gave Sherman "sickly support," the State of Ohio supported both Garfield and his running mate, Chester A. Arthur, in the elections. The Cleveland *Herald* spoke of the Republican candidate as the personification of candor, truth and honor.¹¹³ The *Waechter am Erie*

¹⁰⁷ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 604.

¹⁰⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 9, 1880.

¹⁰⁹ Cincinnati *Gazette*, June 9, 1880.

¹¹⁰ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, III, 600, 602.

¹¹¹ Alfred R. Conkling, *The Life and Letters of Roscoe Conkling* (New York, 1889), 608.

¹¹² Cincinnati *Gazette*, June 10, 1880.

¹¹³ Cleveland *Herald*, June 11, 1880.

indicated that the German press in the State was solidly behind the general.¹¹⁴ Disappointed as Sherman was, he telegraphed Garfield that he had saved the Republican cause.¹¹⁵ Garfield himself felt that he had done everything to insure Sherman's nomination.¹¹⁶

Garfield had been born in Cuyahoga County, on the Western Reserve, on November 19, 1831, the last of the presidents to be reared in the typical environment of the log cabin. He was schooled at Geauga Academy and at Williams College where he did well. After teaching for a time in the Institute at Hiram, this young man with wide shoulders and a round, "German-looking" face entered Republican politics and was elected to the Ohio Senate in 1859. Garfield had developed his powers as a speaker when he served as a lay preacher in the church of the Disciples of Christ, and when the Civil War broke out turned his forensic talents to recruiting. He helped raise the 42nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry and became lieutenant-colonel of this command although he possessed no military training. At the battle of Middle Creek in January, 1862, he so distinguished himself that he was raised in rank and became a brigadier-general of volunteers. He took part in the Shiloh engagements and served as chief of staff during the Chickamauga campaign. In recognition of these services he was appointed a major-general of volunteers.

It was said that Garfield inspired both William S. Rosecrans and George H. Thomas and made a Union victory possible.¹¹⁷ In December, 1863, he took his seat in the Thirty-eighth Congress from the nineteenth Ohio district. He succeeded himself eight times. He served on important congressional committees and was a firm advocate of the resumption of specie payments. His tariff views were not as "high" as some Republicans from Ohio would have liked. Scandal touched him only twice. He was accused of accepting stock in the Credit Mobilier Company and he did accept a retaining fee

¹¹⁴ Cleveland *Waechter am Erie*, June 11, 1880.

¹¹⁵ John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years* (New York, 1895), II, 775.

¹¹⁶ Theodore C. Smith, *Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield* (New Haven, 1925), II, 983.

¹¹⁷ Cincinnati *Gazette*, June 10, 1880.

for services in connection with the DeGolyer paving contract. Garfield was an active supporter of Hayes, having taken a prominent part in the contested election.¹¹⁸ There were few men who possessed such a clean record as did Garfield when he received the nomination.

From his home in Mentor where he sat before a grate fire, smoking thick cigars, Garfield listened with patience to those who came to talk with him.¹¹⁹ His acceptance of the nomination which he dated July 10 was a letter calculated to soothe the feelings of the disgruntled element in the party and to outline his political philosophy. He spoke of the necessity for honest elections, insisted that every citizen, rich or poor, black or white, have an opportunity to enjoy full civil and political rights, said that the South must permit the citizen to support any party he pleased, paid tribute to popular education, reemphasized his belief in a sound currency system as understood by Republicans, maintained that paper currency was "as national as the flag," spoke of internal improvements, paid tribute to the immigrant, but thought that the Chinese influx should not be welcomed without restrictions and discussed problems attendant upon civil service reform.¹²⁰ Some of these points were only reflections of what Garfield had said in his speech nominating Sherman at the Chicago convention.¹²¹

The Democrats, meeting in Cincinnati in June, had nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania as their standard-bearer, and William H. English of Indiana as vice-president. This was done, however, only after Samuel J. Tilden had withdrawn his name. Republicans thought that after the withdrawal of Tilden only "scrubs" were left in the race.¹²² When Hancock was nominated, it was said that he would be as clay in the hands of professional politicians.¹²³ Democratic supporters, however, described the

¹¹⁸ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, VII, 145-8.

¹¹⁹ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Nov. 16, Dec. 13, 1880.

¹²⁰ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1880 (New York, 1889), 700-1.

¹²¹ Joseph P. Smith, *History of the Republican Party in Ohio* (Chicago, 1898), I, 424-6.

¹²² *Cincinnati Gazette*, June 22, 1880.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1880.

Hancock-English ticket as courageous, aggressive, spirited, splendid and impregnable, and, if this were not sufficient, added that about it hung "the sweet odors of loyalty, of Union, of patriotism, of Democracy, of that whitest of blossoms, civil liberty."¹²⁴

When Ohioans, after a strenuous campaign, went to the polls on November 2, they cast 375,048 votes for Garfield and 340,821 for Hancock. In the Nation at large, the Republican nominee polled 4,450,921 votes and the Democratic candidate, 4,447,888. *The Nation* had said that all the precedents in American political history pointed to a Republican victory.¹²⁵ When the results became known the same magazine observed that the White House for another four years would be the resort of reputable and intelligent men.¹²⁶ It was felt that Garfield's election insured national peace and prosperity, and pleasure was expressed in Ohio that another native son had reached the White House.¹²⁷ A southern newspaper blamed the Democratic party for a campaign of successive blunders which was described as a "carnival of narrow-minded politicians where they played fantastic tricks."¹²⁸ In Democratic quarters, it was said that sectionalism, cheap Chinese labor, and the coercion of the white workingman had triumphed and that American laborers could now live on rats and rice.¹²⁹

President Garfield, inaugurated on a cold, snowy day in March, 1881, appointed no Ohioans to his cabinet, although Washington press gossip mentioned the possibility of portfolios for both Senator Sherman and Governor Foster.¹³⁰ The short Garfield administration was marked by difficulty over appointments, by clashes with Conkling, and by the "Star-Route" frauds in the Postoffice Department. Before any of these problems could be settled, however, the President was shot by a disappointed office-seeker and died on Sep-

¹²⁴ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 25, 1880.

¹²⁵ "The Week," *Nation*, XXXI (1880), 296.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 315.

¹²⁷ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Nov. 9, 1880.

¹²⁸ Memphis (Tenn.), *Avalanche*, Nov. 10, 1880.

¹²⁹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Nov. 3, 5, 1880.

¹³⁰ Washington (D. C.) *Sunday Chronicle* quoted in Cincinnati *Commercial*, Nov. 8, 1880.

tember 19, 1881. The body was returned to Cleveland for burial where a throng of more than two hundred fifty thousand gathered to pay a native son a last tribute. Hayes once wrote that Garfield was the best-loved man in the United States, that he possessed large faculties, but that he was not a moral force, leaned on others, and could not face a frowning world.¹³¹ The great eulogy, however, was delivered by Blaine before the two houses of Congress on February 27, 1882.¹³² Sherman felt that Blaine's peroration was an example of the highest oratory.¹³³

The administration of Foster, meanwhile, was earning the approval of the majority of Republicans. In his annual message of 1881, the Governor spoke of the return to prosperity, mentioned that there was a credit in the canal fund of more than thirteen thousand dollars, remarked upon the improvement in the general tone, soldierly bearing, and efficiency of the militia, recommended that careful examination be given boys and girls before sentencing them to reformatory life, reported improvement in the management of the State penitentiary, spoke of the wider and more useful curriculum of the Ohio State University and said that mining conditions throughout the State were improved. He also reported an increase in employment, in construction and in the establishment of new factories, especially those in the glass, pottery, paper and blast industries. Of particular significance was the reorganization of the boards of trustees for the charitable institutions which was provided by an act of April 14, 1880. Foster's general principle was to appoint bi-partisan boards whose membership consisted of three Republicans and two Democrats.¹³⁴

The legislature, under Foster's leadership, passed more than two hundred bills of a general nature and a number of local laws. Major legislation included an act which restored congressional districts as they had stood before their change by the previous General Assembly. Heated discussion centered about several proposed changes

¹³¹ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, IV, 36, 110.

¹³² *Congressional Record*, 47 Cong., 1 Sess., XIII, Feb. 27, 1882, p. 1465-70.

¹³³ Sherman, *Recollections*, II, 838.

¹³⁴ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1880, I, 516-32.

in the law governing alcoholic beverages. Though legislative accomplishment was not in proportion to the heat of debate, Sunday entertainments were curtailed by law when dramatic musicals were presented and liquor sold on the premises. During Foster's two terms as governor (1880-1884) the liquor question continued to be an irritating factor in State politics.¹³⁵ A bill to regulate the sale of liquors by compelling retail dealers to give heavy bond as security for any actionable damage under the personal injury law and a local option bill both failed to pass the Sixty-fourth General Assembly. In 1881, the legislature hotly debated a constitutional amendment restricting liquor, a bill taxing the sale of liquor, and a local-option bill, but none of these was passed. A Temperance Reform Convention, held at Loveland in July, resolved that the liquor traffic in Ohio was going forward with increasing power, devastating homes, and corrupting public morals. In August, a Prohibition Reform State Convention met in Columbus and urged the prohibition in State and national constitutions of the manufacture, importation, sale and supply of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. In 1882, the most exciting political question again centered about prohibition and temperance. At that time, there was exactly a two-thirds Republican vote in each branch of the legislature.

Governor Foster again told the assembly in emphatic language that good citizens were deplored the evils growing out of the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors. He said it was the duty of the legislature to submit the question to the people in the form of constitutional amendments. On March 8, 1882, the House passed a joint resolution providing that a proposition to amend the constitution be submitted to the electors in October, 1883. The proposed amendments dealt with local option, state prohibition and the taxing of the liquor traffic.

At the same session, the Pond Bill was passed which provided for the taxation of the traffic in intoxicating liquors and stipulated that bonds be filed by liquor dealers. Other restricting and embarrassing

¹³⁵ Charles P. Foster to Mayor of Canton, Ohio, Columbus, June 24, 1880, Telegram Book, 1880-1881 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 21.

provisions of the bill included a graduated tax for dealers operating in cities of the various classes and penalties for the non-observance of the law. State liquor dealers rose in arms over the bill, and it was reported that they had raised a fund of twenty thousand dollars to prevent its passage.¹³⁶ A few days earlier, the same newspaper had asked a colorful, if blunt, question: "What are those pot-bellied lobbyists doing at Columbus, with jugs of whisky and boxes of cigars, and the best rooms at the hotels?"¹³⁷

The *Volksfreund*, representing the typical German point of view, thought that the Pond Bill made every decent, beer-dispensing German saloonkeeper a criminal. L. O. Maddux, a prominent Cincinnati distiller, objected to the law because saloons "are just as requisite to three-fifths of our population as barber-shops on Sunday are to one-tenth of it, or Italian fruit stands to a one-hundredth part of it, or street-cars to two fifths of it."¹³⁸ The Cincinnati *Enquirer*, always on the alert to discredit Foster's Republican administration, played on race prejudice by declaring editorially that the Pond Bill and the Smith Bill which provided for closing all places on Sunday where liquor was sold were aimed directly at the German population of Ohio.¹³⁹

The constitutionality of the Pond Law also was questioned. A case begun in Crawford County went immediately to the supreme court of Ohio, and on May 30, Chief Justice George B. Okey handed down a decision declaring the act unconstitutional. The court held that the act violated a provision of the Constitution of 1851 which provided that "no license to traffic in intoxicating liquors shall hereafter be granted in this State."¹⁴⁰

Despite mounting opposition to Republican liquor tactics, the Foster administration continued to press for alcoholic reform. In 1883, the Governor again called the attention of the legislature to the liquor which he said was making Sundays days of rowdyism and

¹³⁶ Cincinnati *Commercial*, March 30, 1882.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, Mar. 28, 1882.

¹³⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Mar. 29, 1882.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, Mar. 31, 1882.

¹⁴⁰ Ohio Laws, *Acts*, 50 Assemb., 1852, p. 33.

carnivals and which was taking hard-earned money away from needy families. As a result, two proposed constitutional amendments were carried to the people in the October elections. The first proposition provided that the General Assembly should both regulate and levy taxes or assessments upon the liquor traffic. The second stipulated that the manufacture and traffic in intoxicating liquors be forever prohibited. At about the same time, the legislature passed the Scott Law which provided for an annual tax of two hundred dollars on all places where liquor was sold at retail and, in addition, prohibited the opening of such places on Sunday. The Scott Law, like the Pond Law, went to the supreme court and this time the court held the act to be constitutional. In 1884, however, the court reversed itself and held the tax provisions of the Scott Law to be unconstitutional.¹⁴¹

Governor Foster, in his last annual message, spoke emphatically of the beneficial results of the Scott Law. This, of course, was prior to the change in attitude of the supreme court. He said that receipts from liquor sales in Ohio amounted to about seventy millions of dollars, that the revenue derived under the new law had totaled somewhat less than two millions of dollars, and more than four thousand saloons had been forced out of business.¹⁴² The Governor, however, had not judged the temper of the people with complete accuracy in regard to the vexing liquor question. When the two proposed amendments concerning the regulation and taxation of the liquor traffic and the prohibition of intoxicating beverages were voted upon in the October elections, a rather curious thing occurred. Both amendments were rejected. Neither had received the majority of votes necessary to carry the issue.

The defeat of the proposed amendments was all the more surprising as the concentrated force of temperance and prohibition workers had been thrown in an energetic campaign in support of the reform. The Women's Christian Temperance Union with head-

¹⁴¹ "State v. Frame," *Ohio State Reports* (Cincinnati, 1887), XXXIX, 399-429; "Butzman v. Whitbeck," *ibid.*, XLI, 233-8; "State v. Sinks," *ibid.*, XLI, 345-74. For Pond Law see "State v. Hipp," *ibid.*, XVIII, 199-242.

¹⁴² *Ohio Ex. Doc.*, 1883, II, 24-5.

quarters in Cleveland had pushed the amendments vigorously. A campaign newspaper was printed, house-to-house canvasses were made, and women stationed themselves at the polls on election day. In Canton, members of the Union "sowed" temperance pamphlets "knee-deep" on the streets.¹⁴³ It was charged that the Republican party never possessed any real sympathy for the temperance cause and had lost both the German and Irish vote by passing the Scott Law.¹⁴⁴ Some men thought that it would be a long time before another prohibitory amendment would be again submitted to the people. It was said that the Democrats would not do it and the "Republicans are not likely to furnish a razor for the impracticables to cut the throats of their candidates."¹⁴⁵

The election of October, 1883, however, meant more than the defeat of a reform program sponsored by the Republicans. It meant the overthrow of the party and the triumph of the Democrats. When the Democrats assembled in Columbus for their State convention on June 21, they were interested in nominating a man who could successfully challenge Foster's claim that he had managed the affairs of state in a non-partisan and businesslike manner. In addition, they desired a candidate who would be acceptable to the Irish and German elements of the State and who could handle the delicate liquor problem with skill.

When the delegates gathered in the Columbus Opera House on a misty day, they were divided into two camps. One supported Durbin Ward, a Civil War veteran and a Lebanon attorney, and the other gave its strength to George Hoadly, prominent Cincinnati lawyer and public figure. Senator Thurman, his arm in a sling because of a recent accident, seconded Ward's nomination in ringing words which characterized him as a man whose Democracy had never been challenged and as a gallant defender of the Union. Michael Ryan brought the name of Hoadly before the convention. The Cincinnati attorney was said to love his country above any

¹⁴³ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Oct. 9, 1883.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1883.

¹⁴⁵ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Oct. 12, 1883.

party and was described as one whose life had been pure and bright and whose record was as burnished gold. The reference to love of country before that of party was an explanation of the fact that Hoadly had once embraced Republican principles. Despite the attempts of Thurman and his group to prevent Hoadly's nomination, he won on the second ballot. John G. Warwick, of Stark County, was named to run with him.

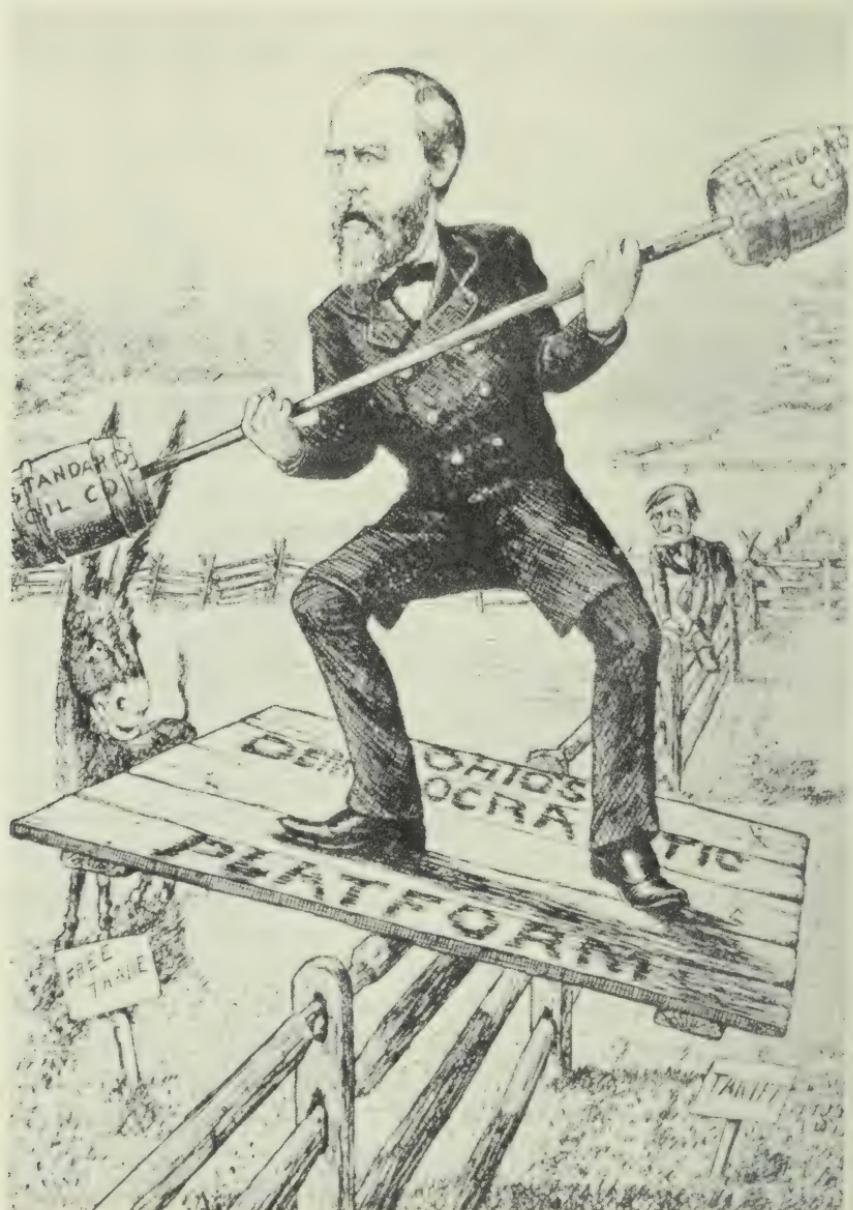
The Democratic platform was relatively brief. It advocated a tariff for revenue in order to encourage productive domestic industries, approved a license system for the control of the liquor evil, recommended the abolition of the contract-labor system in State prisons, and supported civil service reform. "The nomination of Hoadly," said a Republican political correspondent, "shows that the party has a breadth of beam and freight capacity greater than it formerly had, but the craft is not well-loaded; has too much steam on for the old boilers, and is not to be trusted with the treasures of the State where the waters are deep and the storms arise."¹⁴⁶ The Cincinnati *Enquirer* described Hoadly as a "hustler" and maintained that no one questioned his ability.¹⁴⁷

Ohio Republicans had met in Columbus on June 5 to construct a platform and write a slate. A blazing summer heat failed to burn out the zeal of the perspiring politicians. Senator Sherman was named permanent chairman amidst whoops and yells. He had been prominently mentioned as a possible nominee, but declined the honor. The convention finally selected as its candidate for governor a Cincinnati lawyer who had set up his headquarters in the Neil House. Joseph Benson Foraker was characterized in the speech nominating him as a man "a little ahead of his age" and as one who had served his country well in the Civil War. He was described as an eminent attorney and citizen of Cincinnati.¹⁴⁸ Hayes thought Foraker was versatile, witty, attractive and handsome, but felt that he was inclined to say sharp things which hurt. Hoadly, in Hayes's

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, June 22, 1883.

¹⁴⁷ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 22, 25, 1883.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1883.



13. GENTLY, JUDGE HOADLY, GENTLY!
Life (New York), II (1883), 30-31.

opinion, was spiteful, untruthful and a "reckless chatterbox."¹⁴⁹

The nomination went to Foraker who at that time was not quite thirty-seven years of age. He had been born in Highland County, attended a typical Ohio district school, worked on a farm, served in the Union Army and, after being mustered out, attended an academy at South Salem, Ohio. In 1866, he entered the freshman class at Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware. He then studied law in Cincinnati and was admitted to practice on October 14, 1869. In 1879, Foraker was elected a judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati. The first Republican State Convention which he attended was that of 1875. His nomination for the governorship took place less than a decade later.¹⁵⁰ William G. Rose, of Cuyahoga County, was selected as his running-mate for the lieutenant-governorship.

In view of the intensity of the liquor controversy then agitating the State, Foraker's party did well to select a Republican candidate whose home was in Cincinnati, the center of the German population.¹⁵¹ Another factor in his favor was his pleasing personality. It was said that he was loved because he was lovable and that he was popular because he deserved popularity.¹⁵² On the other hand, an opposition paper hinted that he was unknown to the people of the State.¹⁵³

Foraker and Rose stumped the State on a platform which called for a protective tariff, demanded abolition of the contract-labor system in prisons and favored a liquor-tax law. It also supported civil service reform and passed resolutions endorsing the administration of President Arthur. In addition to the conventions of the two main parties, three other conventions met in 1883. The Greenback-Labor party, the Prohibition Convention and a State convention of temperance advocates all announced their principles.

Election time, October 9, was a beautiful autumn day throughout the State. A period of dry weather and the promise of an ex-

¹⁴⁹ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, IV, 407, 123.

¹⁵⁰ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, Chaps. I, II, III, VIII, IX.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 105.

¹⁵² Cincinnati *Gazette*, June 7, 1883.

¹⁵³ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 7, 1883.

cellent corn crop brought out the rural vote. In addition, the added excitement attendant upon the two proposed liquor amendments stimulated interest. The eyes of the Nation were on Ohio, said the *Cincinnati Gazette* which ironically pointed out that the great principle of the Democratic party was to vote for the Devil if he were on the ticket.¹⁵⁴ When the votes were totaled, Republicans believed the majority of Ohioans had done just that. A complete victory had been recorded by the Democrats. Hoadly had received 359,793 votes against Foraker's count of 347,164. Twenty-two Democrats and eleven Republicans had been elected to the Senate, and sixty Democrats and forty-five Republicans had won seats in the House. Foraker contented himself by saying that he had been defeated, but not damaged.¹⁵⁵

Hoadly's inauguration on January 14, 1884, was described in terms of the day's weather—damp, dull and depressing. The Governor was escorted by two Cincinnati political clubs, the Duckworth and Jefferson organizations, which took the place of the usual militia. His inaugural address expressed the hope that the burdens of taxation would not be increased, that economy might prevail in his administration, that personal liberty would be secure, and that the State government would be felt most in its benefits and least in restraints. He referred to the agitation in behalf of prohibition as an honest struggle against a real evil.¹⁵⁶ Called a sober, conservative State paper written in plain language instead of bright flashes of brilliant rhetoric, Hoadly's speech seemed to please moderates of both parties.¹⁵⁷ Certainly, the new Governor gave no indication in his first official address that he was a reckless chatterbox.

The Hoadly administration was vexed both by serious political problems and by a period of discord and unrest throughout the State. Much excitement was occasioned when, in January, 1884, it became necessary for the Democratic legislature to elect a new United States Senator. Senator George Hunt Pendleton of Cincin-

¹⁵⁴ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Oct. 10, 1883.

¹⁵⁵ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 115.

¹⁵⁶ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1884.

¹⁵⁷ *Cincinnati News Journal*, Jan. 14, 1884.

nati, known as "Gentleman George," because of his culture and dignified appearance, was willing to be reelected. He had a distinguished record as a statesman having exerted great influence upon the act to reform the civil service which had been passed in 1883. This bill popularly was known as the "Pendleton Act," but its provisions did not altogether please Ohio politicians, especially those of Cincinnati, who complained of the manner in which Pendleton dispensed senatorial patronage. As a result, determined effort was exerted to replace the incumbent with a senator more favorable to Cincinnati interests.

Among the men interested in succeeding Pendleton were Durbin Ward of Warren County and Henry B. Payne of Cleveland. The fight really resolved itself between Pendleton and Payne. The latter, a man about seventy-four years of age, was no novice in politics. Trained in the law, he had served as a State senator and was a candidate for governor in 1857. He retired, however, from both politics and the law and engaged extensively in business, investment and speculation. He had been president of the Cleveland Sinking-Fund Commission for some years as well as president of the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati Railroad.¹⁵⁸ By 1884, Payne was considered a millionaire. In the contest for the senatorship, it was charged that Payne's son who was treasurer of the Standard Oil Company expended a huge sum to insure the election for his father.

The contest, commented a newspaper, was really between civil service reform and the Standard Oil Company with the oil barrel on top and the contents flowing where the political machinery most needed greasing. A satirical advertisement appearing in the *Columbus Ohio State Journal* indicated the intensity of feeling which swept the State during the contest and brought protests from the press of both parties.

"Sealed proposals will be received at the headquarters of the Democratic State Executive Committee in this city until

¹⁵⁸ *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1894), IV, 685.

6 o'clock P. M. (local time) Saturday, January 5, 1884, for the purchase of the seat in the U. S. Senate now held by Hon. George H. Pendleton, said seat being for sale, without reserve, to the highest bidder. . . . Sale positive, to the highest bidder, and no questions asked.”¹⁵⁹

The Cleveland *Penny Press* while declaring that it thought Payne an honorable man said that it could not support him “because of the gang and methods of the gang who are trying to make him United States Senator.”¹⁶⁰ A Columbus political reporter wrote to the Cincinnati *News Journal* saying he had had the following conversation with a Standard Oil official. “Payne will be elected, and Pendleton and all the rest of them haven’t money enough to prevent it. Why, I tell you his boys know how to do it. When he was elected to congress, in 1874, his boys put a round \$100,000 into the fight, and then came out \$15,000 or \$20,000 ahead. How did they do it? Why, they bet over \$115,000 on the result of the election, put their \$100,000 where it would do the most good, elected the old man, and got their money back.”¹⁶¹

As the time for the election of a Senator drew closer, charges of fraud and corruption became thicker. It was reported, for example, that George C. Stoll, editor of the Cleveland *Messenger*, said that John Huntington, a Standard Oil financier, had sent him to Columbus to work for Payne and had delivered to him, through a third person, a hundred dollars.¹⁶² Thurman came out strongly in favor of Pendleton, saying, “I want to see all true Democrats have a chance, according to their merits, and do not want to see a political cutthroat bossism inaugurated for the benefit of a close party corporation or syndicate.”¹⁶³ Despite protests, Payne was elected to succeed Pendleton on the first ballot. “The nomination of Payne,” said a Cincinnati newspaper in its editorial, “represents the omnip-

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1884.

¹⁶⁰ Quoted in Cincinnati *News Journal*, Jan. 1, 1884.

¹⁶¹ Cincinnati *News Journal*, Jan. 1, 1884.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1884.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1884.

otence of Standard Oil in politics, not the influence of the Democracy of Ohio."¹⁶⁴ Hayes described Payne as able, conservative and well-meaning, but thought that politically his election was a mistake and later spoke of buying places in the Senate and of government by corruption as an evil.¹⁶⁵

The election of Payne to the Senate, however, did not terminate the controversy over the manner of his selection. In 1886, when Republicans had secured a majority in the Ohio House of Representatives, the matter again was aired. Action probably was initiated as the result of a statement appearing in the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* on January 12, 1886. This article implicated four members of the House. As a result, a House resolution was passed approving the appointment of a committee to investigate all aspects of the controversy and forward the results to the president of the United States Senate. The taking of testimony was arduous, and difficulty was encountered at every stage of the investigation. Witnesses failed to remember statements they had made or else denied them. Other witnesses removed themselves from the jurisdiction of the House and the process of the committee. Although the results of the investigation produced no legal proof that bribery had taken place in connection with the selection of Payne, the committee thought the circumstances surrounding his election were such that they should be transmitted to the United States Senate. The Senate, however, refused to take any further action, and the matter was dropped.¹⁶⁶

In addition to the Payne controversy, the State was stirred during Hoadly's administration by riots in March, 1884, in Cincinnati over what was thought by many to be a miscarriage of justice. Cincinnati citizens had long been troubled by crime waves and miscarriages of justice. Their resentment came to a head when William Berner, who, according to all testimony and evidence, had murdered his employer in cold blood, was convicted of manslaughter rather than

¹⁶⁴ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Jan. 9, 1884.

¹⁶⁵ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, IV, 195-6, 463.

¹⁶⁶ Senate, *Miscellaneous Document*, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 5, Doc. 106, *passim*.

of murder in the first degree. Crowds gathered in March to descend upon the jail and hang Berner. The courthouse was burned, valuable records destroyed, and street fighting resulted in loss of life. It finally became necessary for the Governor to dispatch detachments of the State militia to restore order. In April, the peace again was broken when miners in the Hocking Valley struck for higher pay. Again, troops were sent to the scene of the trouble. Earlier in the year when the high waters of the Ohio River overflowed large areas of Cincinnati, the people of the State collected relief funds and shipped food and clothing to the inundated city. The crest of the flood was reached on February 14 when the water stood just a little over seventy-one feet.¹⁶⁷

Governor Hoadly kept a sharp eye upon Hocking Valley developments. In 1884, he dispatched a long letter to D. M. Stanton, president of the Ohio Coal and Iron Company, who maintained his office in New York City. The communication was remarkable for its keen insight and dispassionate analysis of the Hocking Valley strike. "Nevertheless, I think it proper to say to you," wrote Hoadly, "that while the strike continues, and until it has been settled upon a basis of reason and justice, it will not surprise me to hear of occasional disorders and crimes in the Hocking Valley. The great body of the locked-out miners are law-abiding and claim that their cause can be successfully maintained by peaceful methods. . . . I fear that, without an adjustment of the difficulties between capital and labor upon a fair basis, neither their influence, nor the terrors of the law, nor the labors of the state and county authorities—civil and military—will be sufficient to keep these turbulent spirits quiet."¹⁶⁸ The following month Hoadly told the president of the Cigar Makers' Union No. 115 at Canton that Hocking Valley property was not being guarded by militia, but was being protected by Pinkerton detectives.¹⁶⁹

Hoadly, as a clever politician, kept in touch with his constituents.

¹⁶⁷ Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1884 for sketches of flood.

¹⁶⁸ George Hoadly to D. M. Stanton, Columbus, Nov. 22, 1884, Executive Letter Book, 1884-1885, p. 310-11.

¹⁶⁹ *Id.* to Jas. Nicodemus, Columbus, Dec. 17, 1884, *ibid.*, 400-2.

Upon one occasion he advised an acquaintance to investigate a citizen needing an anvil, and if the investigation showed the man to be a good Democrat, the Governor would order an anvil purchased, presented to the applicant, and then charged to himself.¹⁷⁰ Although he gave careful attention to official business, Hoadly rarely was in Columbus on Monday as he reserved that day for his private affairs in Cincinnati.¹⁷¹ While Governor he interested himself in requirements for the practice of medicine, in municipal police departments and in applications for pardons.

Hoadly thought, as had other Ohioans, that his governorship might secure for him the most coveted prize of all—nomination by the Democrats for the presidency. Another prominent Buckeye, Allen G. Thurman, also was reaching for the same political plum. When, however, the National Democratic Convention met in Chicago on July 8, 1884, it passed over Ohio aspirants and selected Grover Cleveland, governor of New York. John Sherman's name was presented to the Republican convention by Foraker and by William H. Holt, of Kentucky. Foraker described Sherman, in one of the great speeches of the convention, as possessing the essential qualifications to make him "most competent to deliver us from the evils that threaten our present safety."¹⁷² Despite Foraker's forensic efforts, the delegates passed over Sherman to select James G. Blaine as their standard-bearer. In the ensuing national elections, Blaine carried Ohio, although he was defeated throughout the country.

Both Hoadly and Foraker, however, returned to Ohio to engage actively in politics. The former again was endorsed by his party for the governorship in the State Democratic Convention held in Columbus in August, 1885, and the latter again was named to head the Republican ticket in that party's convention held in Springfield in January. The platforms of the respective parties were much the same with the exception of policies bearing upon the troublesome liquor question. Ohio Democrats favored regulation by license and

¹⁷⁰ D. M. Conville to W. C. Watson, Columbus, Sept. 8, 1884, *ibid.*, 95.

¹⁷¹ George Hoadly to John Boden, Columbus, Dec. 19, 1884, *ibid.*, 411.

¹⁷² Smith, *History of the Republican Party in Ohio*, I, 491.

proposed a constitutional amendment to that end. Republicans, on the other hand, declared for regulation by taxation.

A feature of the campaign was a series of public debates between the two rivals. In Toledo, an orderly, but enthusiastic, crowd heard Hoadly say that Lincoln died a Democrat and listened to Foraker's correction that "Lincoln died by the hand of a Democrat."¹⁷³ The two men also debated in Cincinnati. When the election returns were completed, Foraker received 359,281 votes as against his opponent's 341,830. After great discussion which finally was carried to the State supreme court for attempted settlement, it was finally determined how many members of each party had been elected to the General Assembly. A Republican majority in both House and Senate, after weeks of dispute and debate, finally was agreed upon, although not without discontented mutterings from disgruntled Democrats.

The election of 1885 was significant for reasons other than that it shifted political control from the Democratic to the Republican party. A constitutional amendment was approved which provided that township officers be elected for a term not exceeding three years and that they should hold office until their successors were elected and qualified. Three other amendments also were approved. These changed the date of Ohio elections from October to November to conform to the general practice throughout the Nation.

The inauguration of Foraker on January 11, 1886, the coldest day of the winter, marked the end of a political era in Ohio and made way for another. Ohio, as a great industrial State, was to become less interested in purely local affairs and more and more to involve itself in national problems of finance, business and modernity.

¹⁷³ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Oct. 9, 1885.

Bosses and Boodle

JAMES BRYCE once called the city government of the United States a conspicuous failure.¹ It is little wonder that another much-traveled city investigator characterized the urban governments of the United States as the worst in Christendom, saying they were the most expensive, the most inefficient and the most corrupt.² Municipal extravagance was another fault of the American community which authors damned in no uncertain terms.³ It was charged that urban defalcations, extravagances and tax burdens stimulated the "breeding-nest of municipal peculation, corruption, waste, and extravagance" and produced the "dark cavern of vicious politics, the lying-in asylum of illegitimate politicians, the nursery of corrupt practices."⁴ Remedies were proposed, of course, to combat these evils. Municipal reform was declared to be the task of first educating the people.⁵ "Almost anything can be done," declared an indignant citizen, "to protect public interests and clean out the pig-sties of political corruption, if intelligent and determined citizens will simply get together and see that the work is done."⁶ If competent men were elected to public office by high-minded citizens, there was still no assurance that good government would result. Brand Whitlock pointed out the moral disintegration of even a candidate for office in his excellent political novel, *The 13th District*.⁷

¹ James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (New York, 1895), I, 637.

² Andrew D. White, "The Government of American Cities," *Forum* (New York), X (1890), 357.

³ Arthur B. Ellis, "Municipal Extravagance," *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), LII (1883), *passim*.

⁴ John A. Kasson, "Municipal Reform," *North American Review* (New York), CXXXVII (1883), 230.

⁵ E. L. Godkin, "A Key to Municipal Reform," *ibid.*, CLI (1890), 430.

⁶ Ferdinand Seeger, "Jobs in Cities," *ibid.*, CXLIII (1886), 94-5.

⁷ Brand Whitlock, *The 13th District* (Indianapolis, 1902).

Ohio municipalities were no exception to this criticism during the decades from the seventies until the turn of the century. Local evils were numerous. Behind rows of dirty tenements, behind centers of vice and gambling, behind illegal betting-booths, stood a peculiarly American phenomenon. It was the urban czar. The city boss, in many instances, was no large, pompous individual, dressed in fancy waistcoats, studded with diamonds and loudly calling attention to himself.⁸ Distinguishing characteristics were apt to be more subtle.

A "boss" was simply a politician who controlled or directed a political machine. There were all manner of bosses from the small fry who handled a precinct, to a leader who manipulated a city on to the big boys who dictated State and national policies.⁹ A few were well-educated and suave; others were plug-uglies; some were hard-working and faithful; and more were practical, political campaigners who knew that the party always came first and public interest second. The boss, whether big or little, relied upon a well-knit organization for his strength. To build such strong backing required sympathy, tact and money. The master strategy of the machine consisted in the political consolidation of the beneficiaries of the graft system together with any other individuals who could be entangled by other types of appeal.¹⁰ The secret of success was to take care of every loyal party worker. It was no uncommon thing, then, for city bosses to order coal for indigent, but faithful, workers; to pay physicians' bills; to find a job for the unemployed; and to foot funeral expenses. In return for such favors, the boss got votes. Many a boss could compute the number of votes almost to a man in any given election.

Successful bosses were good mixers. They mingled with their constituents, loafed in pool rooms, bent elbows in corner saloons, and belonged to a variety of clubs and fraternal organizations. They subscribed generously to benefit performances, policemen's balls

⁸ Harold Zink, *City Bosses in the United States* (Durham, N. C., 1930), 65.

⁹ Allen O. Myers, *Bosses and Boodle in Ohio Politics* (Cincinnati, 1895), 39-45.

¹⁰ Valdimer O. Key, Jr., *The Techniques of Political Graft in the United States* (Ph.D. thesis, MS., University of Chicago, 1934), 394.

and firemen's dances. Local hospitals received gifts at holiday seasons and inmates of city cell blocks, county jails and state prisons were not forgotten. The boss knew how to keep the human element in line and the great unwashed—the masses of men—felt no repugnance at accepting favors and at being kept in line. They got places because of a political organization. They knew it and were too realistic to do anything but accept and vote.

Control of city politics, of course, was only a cog in a network of party politics. Municipal government reflected State and national trends. Both Republican and Democratic parties strove for conquest in city precincts as earnestly as in wider contests. The old Jacksonian principle of "To the victor belongs the spoils," was a tried and true maxim to urban leaders who understood the value of machine politics. Men like John R. McLean of Cincinnati and Marcus Alonzo Hanna, the "Red Boss of Cleveland," were competent politicians working on only a little higher level, perhaps, than did "Calico Charlie" Foster or George Hoadly. McLean probably was as typical a city boss as could be found in Ohio before 1890.

It was McLean who laid the foundation for "bossism" in Cincinnati while George B. Cox and others were to erect the superstructure of graft and corruption. During the seventies Cincinnati scarcely resembled a queen in any respect, and only a politician delivering a Fourth of July oration with his tongue in his cheek could refer to southern Ohio's great metropolis as the "Queen City."

In 1870, Cincinnati's population was more than 216,000, and of these about 49,000 were Germans who were described as "frugal, personally honest, trustful, and slow to anger."¹¹ Living mainly in the "Over the Rhine" region near the water of the Miami Canal, these Germans were surrounded by tenement houses and unsanitary living conditions. A pall of smoke hung over the city so consistently that a contemporary writer said, "clean hearts abound in Cincinnati, but not clean hands."¹² Some social workers doubted

¹¹ A. Julius Freiberg, "The Cincinnati Situation," *Proceedings of the Atlantic City Conference for Good City Government and the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League* (Philadelphia, 1908), 125.

¹² James Parton, "Cincinnati," *Atlantic Monthly*, XX (1867), 234.

even that Cincinnati possessed clean hearts. "We have a city as badly sewered, as badly lighted, as badly cleaned, and as badly governed as any city on the continent," wrote a reforming clergyman with a trenchant pen.¹³



14. AN ATTACK UPON JOHN R. MCLEAN AND THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

Broadside, Covington Collection, Miami University Library.

solidarity. Prosperity came to the Queen City after the Civil War. An industrial exposition was held annually to stimulate interest in trade and manufacturing. The eighteen-seventies witnessed the

¹³ Dudley Ward Rhodes, *Creed and Greed* (Cincinnati, 1879), 93.

¹⁴ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Mar. 31, 1879.

On the other hand, the city was building firmly toward commercial and social

construction of the Southern Railroad which ran from Cincinnati to Chattanooga and was owned by the city of Cincinnati. During the same decade Reuben Springer donated \$225,000 for the construction of a music hall to house an annual musical festival which began in 1872. A gift from Henry Probasco helped establish the Tyler Davidson Foundation. The McMicken School of Design and the Art Museum both were founded. Eden Park was laid out, and wealthy residents enjoyed an ease and comfort of living quite unknown in earlier days.

A power in politics during these days was the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, published by John R. McLean, son of the conservative Democratic boss of Cincinnati. Young McLean had studied at Harvard University and had been graduated from the University of Heidelberg. Professional baseball captured his interest after he returned to the United States. Only an offer of a salary of ten thousand dollars annually by the elder McLean induced the younger to give up his favorite sport and assume the responsibilities of newspapering.¹⁵ Within a short time the son had bought out other interests and taken full control. Not content with newspaper publishing, McLean began dabbling in local politics.

Possessed of a "genius for organization and a clear conception of opportunity,"¹⁶ McLean entered into an unholy partnership with Tom Campbell, a criminal lawyer of shady reputation. Although a Republican, Campbell "played ball" with McLean, and each prospered. Under their joint rule, Cincinnati rapidly became one of the worst-governed cities in the Nation. The famous Tweed Ring, in the opinion of an observer, suffered by comparison with the McLean-Campbell alliance. City government was in the hands of committees or boards which were openly corrupt and probably maintained by Democratic planning and frauds.¹⁷ So flagrant, indeed, were violations of law that one fatalistic citizen sadly re-

¹⁵ Cincinnati *Times-Star*, June 10, 1916.

¹⁶ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 10, 1916.

¹⁷ Charles P. Taft, *City Management: the Cincinnati Experiment* (New York, 1933), 8.

marked, "Cincinnati is going to the devil, and let her go!"¹⁸

McLean's power increased as he gradually gained control of numerous bummers. A bummer was a sort of keyman in a precinct or ward. He knew his constituents and could deliver votes as easily as a milkman could leave a quart of cream. "The saloon-keepers, the houses of prostitution, the gamblers, the policemen, the detectives, the firemen, the contractors," explained an editor, "all have noted men among them whom it is the aim of the candidate to bribe or conciliate, and woe to the ambitious aspirant for office who (in an ordinary election) fails to secure the favor of at least one of them."¹⁹ It was almost a truism that whoever controlled the bummers controlled the election. Bummers probably first appeared in Cincinnati during the Civil War when irregularities were prevalent and the city was disorganized and confused politically. Election laws failed to remove evils during McLean's control of Cincinnati. Registration was not obligatory, voters carried arms, "repeating" was a common practice, and no attempt was made at identification of voters. Voters at one election included "William January," "John February," "Alfred April," and "William May."²⁰

A typical example of graft and corruption occurred in Cincinnati during the seventies. The eyes of the Nation were turned on Ohio in the fall of 1876 as the Hayes-Tilden campaign drew to a close. At that time Ohio had its State election in October, and the contest between the Democratic and Republican forces was looked upon as a barometer forecasting things to come in November.

Both sides pulled every trick from their political poke. Money was lavishly spent. Gangs of repeaters were brought in from larger cities. Negroes were imported from Kentucky and bummers from Chicago. Negroes were rounded up by the Democratic police force and roughs by the Republican marshals. Votes were bought and ballot boxes stuffed. McLean brought the full strength of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* to bear and Murat Halstead, not to

¹⁸ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Apr. 10, 1874.

¹⁹ *Cincinnati Chronicle*, Mar. 18, 1871.

²⁰ Clara Longworth De Chambrun, *Cincinnati: Story of the Queen City* (New York, 1939), 292.

be outdone, responded with vituperations and salvos of venom.

An unusually high Democratic vote in some Queen City wards soon provoked an inquiry headed by the Cincinnati *Gazette* and the Cincinnati *Commercial*. By comparing the lists of voters as they registered at the polls with a city directory, investigators found many names which did not appear as residents. The *Gazette* found an excess of 1,766 voters in nine wards.²¹ Some of the names were found to be those of legal voters who had moved into these wards but a short time before. The greater part of these votes, however, gave evidence of being illegal. Several similar lists were drawn up within the next few weeks.²²

Republican papers also accused McLean and the Democratic party in general of spending excessively large sums of money on the election. It was claimed that twenty thousand dollars had been sent to Cincinnati from New York and of this half was spent on election day to secure the reelection of two local candidates.²³

Perhaps the desecration of the polls would have been passed with only the usual launching of charge and countercharge had not the Democrats made the fatal error of failing to pay off some of their leaders. The usual number of arrests at the poll would have been taken care of by the old "straw bail," and nothing more done, but the gangsters of the ballot box had not been paid and in revenge they blabbed.

Not the least of the malefactors was an ex-detective, Jim White, one of the organizers of gangs of repeaters. While in jail awaiting sentence, White claimed that much of the evidence brought out against him was perjured. He claimed that Joseph Cox's attorney, T. C. Campbell, was the manipulator and boss of the whole case.²⁴

Great, indeed, was the elation of the Republicans when enough evidence was gathered to bring about an indictment against one Ephraim Holland who was charged with importing bummers into Cincinnati. It was not until February, 1877, that Holland was

²¹ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1876.

²² Cincinnati *Commercial*, Oct. 19; Cincinnati *Gazette*, Oct. 16, 17, 1876.

²³ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Oct. 15, 1876.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 13, 1877.

brought to testify in the contested election case of Joseph Cox *vs.* Judson Harmon. Harmon, a Democrat, was elected to the position of judge of common pleas court. Somehow Cox had ingratiated himself with Holland and this, coupled with a desire for revenge against his defaulting political henchman, caused Holland's defection.²⁵ No doubt, too, the promises of T. C. Campbell had much to do with Holland's testifying.

In his testimony Holland told how he had been summoned from New York by representatives of leading Democratic candidates. He said they promised him large sums of money to come to Cincinnati and run the election after his own unorthodox but none-the-less effective fashion. Holland accepted their offers and went to work and "work" according to his definition meant: "Get as many votes as I possibly could. Didn't make any difference how it was we got them."²⁶

Holland's service included the organizing of gangs to counteract Republican influence. "I was given to understand they were going to pull the people away from the polls; and, if so, I was to offset all that—in fact to resist it," he testified. In his gangs he had eighteen from New York headed by Mike Gleason, between seven and twelve from Chicago under the leadership of a man named Burns, eight from Pittsburgh led by George Fairchild, and groups from Maysville, Kentucky and Baltimore. In addition to this somewhat formidable aggregation of foreign talent, Holland commissioned Jim White to recruit local bummers. This force amounted to about thirty-five. These men were each paid five dollars and promised twenty more.

Holland's testimony is interesting and worthy of note:

"Attorney. You have accounted for a large number of illegal votes cast in the first precinct of the Fourth Ward; now, if that is so, how does it occur that the vote in that ward was not as large at that elec-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 16, 1877.

²⁶ Ohio General Assembly, *Senate Journal*, 62 Assemb., Adj. Sess., Jan. 2, 1877. Appendix, "Cox *vs.* Harmon, Evidence, etc., in the Contest of Cox *vs.* Harmon in the First Judicial District, Hamilton County," 109.

tion as it has been at some elections held previous to it?"

"Holland. That is very easily accounted for."

"Q. Then how do you account for it?"

"A. Could not get to the ballot-boxes well."

"Q. What do you mean by that?"

"A. That the Republican party had a judge we didn't know. We didn't know the clerk very well."

"Q. Suppose you could have got to the judge and the clerk?"

"A. We could have operated very readily without the judge with the clerk. Down there the same thing has been done in that ward fifty times."

"Q. How?"

"A. Get them to write more names on the tally-sheets than there were ballots in the box."

"Q. Then what did you do?"

"A. Find out the names on the tally-sheet more than there was ballots put in the box; have tickets already prepared and folded—make a bustle—and then manage to get the tickets in the box."²⁷

Even juries were composed of bummers, and peace officers consorted openly with shady characters. "When we see men chosen to secure the passage of laws for the suppression of crime in this city," growled a Cincinnati newspaper, "walking shoulder to shoulder with the criminal classes in the interest of a city ticket, it may be said that the millennium is not at hand."²⁸ Reform papers had pleaded for organization by citizens. "The thing to do is for people to wake up and look after their interests. The bummers now have the city government, but if taxpayers will go to work they can do much in the way of checking rascality."²⁹ By 1880, crime and vice were rampant. Even the Cincinnati *Enquirer* pointedly discussed brothel brawls on Longworth Street.³⁰ During the reign of Mayor Robert M. Moore, the city was said to be "wide open" and news-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 112, 113, 114, 119.

²⁸ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Mar. 31, 1879.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 10, 1874.

³⁰ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Nov. 8, 1882.

papers and ministers united in castigating the administration.

Meanwhile, the affable and generous McLean, handsome and dressed in the height of fashion, played the role of philanthropist. He was the friend to man. Standing before the *Enquirer* office he gave quarters to known bums, halves to others more worthy and dollars to men with families in need.³¹ In 1882, McLean called a missionary to the *Enquirer* office, told him he wished to donate coal to the poor and said he would give five thousand bushels.³² In such manner did McLean perfect his organization. He himself apparently cared little for public office, although he was willing to be elected to the State Senate and to the governorship. It is said that when McLean ran for senator one Cincinnati precinct mustered more votes than the entire population of that section. He was defeated for the governorship in 1898. The Democratic party, however, did what it could for him. He was named delegate-at-large to five Democratic national conventions and was a member of the Democratic National Committee for many years. He was caricatured as the "best-dressed" man at a national Democratic convention³³ and was described as "short of stature and somewhat stout."³⁴ He was also referred to as possessing "pulchritudinous luster."³⁵ Cartoonists made sport of large eyes which bulged.

The McLean-Campbell partnership collapsed with climactic swiftness with the Cincinnati riots of 1884. Briefly, the riots were the culmination of public sentiment long repressed. More than twenty persons accused of murder in some degree were being held without attempts to bring them to trial. A jury had brought in a verdict of manslaughter for Campbell's client, Berner, even though he had confessed to brutal murder. This leniency shocked Cincinnati. The sheriff had spirited Berner away to Columbus, but a mass

³¹ *Cincinnati Times-Star*, June 10, 1916.

³² Joseph Emery, *Thirty-Five Years among the Poor, and the Public Institutions of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1887), 363.

³³ James P. Hornaday, "Chairman Taggart and the Democratic Party," *Review of Reviews* (New York), XXX (1901), 290.

³⁴ *Cincinnati Post*, June 9, 1916.

³⁵ Evans Peck, "The Many-Sided Man," *Cosmopolitan* (New York), L (1911), 407.

meeting was held in the Music Hall and so intense was public feeling that the courthouse was burned, property damaged and about forty-five lives lost.

Companies of militiamen were ordered to Cincinnati. The adjutant-general reported that only after great difficulty were troops able to erect street barricades and restore order.³⁶ As Cincinnati slowly returned to normal conditions, boodle-minded bosses found themselves in an awkward position. Campbell moved to New York. Citizens formed an "Honest Elections Committee," and asked that deputy United States marshals preserve order during the elections of 1884. Not to be outdone, the Democrats, encouraged by McLean, swore in a large force of deputy sheriffs. McLean, in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, attacked the United States marshals bitterly.³⁷ Feeling flared high, fights were frequent and charges of fraud and intimidation prevalent. It was said that Mike Mullen, Democratic police lieutenant, depleted the ranks of Republican voters by the simple expedient of loading all Negro voters he could find into a patrol wagon and locking them in the basement of the Hammond Street police station until after the polls closed. It was not until 1885, however, that Cincinnati Republicans mustered sufficient strength to oust McLean and his cohorts. A reform mayor, Amor Smith, came into office bearing the blessings of the local Republican machine as well as the sneers of local Democrats. The *Commercial Gazette*, long an enemy of McLean's *Enquirer*, hailed Smith's election as an end of the era of bossism and the beginning of one of reform.³⁸ It was true that the Cincinnati reign of McLean was broken, but the Queen City was soon to have a new and powerful lord and master.

When George Barnsdale Cox became boss of Cincinnati, he had been newsboy, bootblack, butcher boy, baseball fan, keno roller, bartender, real estate promoter and a Republican. So great became Cox's influence that a cartoonist pictured him sitting grandly in a

³⁶ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1884, II, 234-7.

³⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Oct. 15, 1884.

³⁸ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Apr. 8, 1885.

shoe-shine chair while President Taft and Governor Herrick laboriously polished his boots.³⁹

Of English descent, Cox was born on April 29, 1853. His father left him penniless when the lad was eight years old. As a youth he turned his hand to several trades among them butcher's boy and tobacco salesman. He also organized a baseball team whose motto, "Win, Tie, or Fight," exemplified Cox's innate determinism.⁴⁰ Cox's entry into Republican politics was really in the role of bouncer. He served as a challenger at polls. "I was a big, husky young fellow," he said, "and was especially useful when it became necessary to throw illegal voters out of line."⁴¹ About 1875, Cox worked in the elaborate gambling joint, the Empire, which stood on Cincinnati's West Fifth Street. Keno was his game. "He was said," caustically remarked an opposition paper, "to be one of the most graceful grooms of the goose who ever called out e-lev-en, num-ber ni-ins."⁴²

After tending bar for a time, Cox purchased a saloon on the southwest corner of Longworth Street and Central Avenue. For years this location was known as "Dead Man's Corner." As a saloon-keeper Cox really learned the finer tricks of the politician's art. His associate was a Philadelphia bartender named Frank Kelly. Kelly knew something of the famous McManes Gas Ring, and he regaled Cox with tall tales of Philadelphia politics. At Kelly's suggestion, Cox determined to enter politics himself. His strategic position behind the bar had already made him a figure in ward politics. At the age of twenty-four Cox ran for and was elected to the Cincinnati City Council. This was his first and only elective public office. His entire life thereafter centered about politics, but Cox was to be the man behind the throne. In 1881, he sold his saloon and gave more and more time to intrigue and manipulation of city affairs. His election to the council had given him control of the Eighteenth Ward. Gradually, he gained power in other wards. Known to be honest

³⁹ Negley D. Cochran, *E. W. Scripps* (New York, 1933), 55.

⁴⁰ Cincinnati *Times-Star*, May 20, 1916.

⁴¹ Cincinnati *Post*, May 20, 1916.

⁴² Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Oct. 11, 1885.



15. CARTOON SHOWING CINCINNATI MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
Covington Collection, Miami University Library.

and personally pleasant, Cox by 1884 had become strongly entrenched.

Although the Republican organization in Cincinnati, during the seventies and eighties, was controlled by three leaders, George Moerlein, Amor Smith and Henry Kessler, Cox was able to insinuate himself into their good favor. In 1884, he was chairman of the Republican County Congressional Committee and later was appointed chairman of the Blaine Campaign Committee for Hamilton County. Although Blaine was defeated generally throughout the State, Cox was able to give him an impressive majority in Hamilton County.

By 1885, Cox had allied himself with two fast friends. One was Dr. Thomas Graydon, "Conqueror of Consumption," and the other

was Joseph B. Foraker, the "Fire Alarm of Cincinnati." Graydon manufactured a patent medicine called "Brahmo Yan." It was advertised as a Hindoo cure for deafness.⁴³ It was said that Graydon distributed circulars portraying the City Hall of Cincinnati as his office. Portraits of his cured patients, upon close examination, proved to be the good doctor himself in a variety of disguises.⁴⁴ Foraker met Cox through Graydon. In 1883, Foraker had run for governor, but was defeated. Then the skilled trio, Boss Cox, "Medicine Man" Graydon and Lawyer Foraker, got under way slowly, but their plans were laid with cunning care. Foraker was careful to follow the well-known national planks of the Republican party. He supported a high protective tariff, favored the regulation of the liquor traffic, and straddled any other questions of moment. In 1885, Foraker made a successful campaign for governor and was elected, though he failed to carry his home town, Cincinnati. It was then that Graydon indicated that Cox would be able to deliver the Queen City when Foraker ran for reelection. Cox backed Foraker to the limit, and the "Fire Alarm of Cincinnati" was re-elected governor in 1887.

In 1886, Foraker abolished the Cincinnati Board of Public Works and substituted in its place the Board of Public Affairs. In essence this really meant that Democratic members of the previous board were out and that Republicans packed the new committee. Almost two thousand jobs could now be filled. Cox was given the privilege of filling these positions with the right type of men. That, of course, meant loyal Republicans. Boodle such as this was tremendously worth while. No wonder that the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, an opposition paper, should begin to harry Cox. He was accused of favoring both Republicans and Democrats, and hence by dividing his affections keeping the former in line. By this time Cox had become almost indispensable to Foraker.⁴⁵ It was said openly that Cox con-

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ George Kibbe Turner, "The Thing Above the Law: the Rise and Rule of George B. Cox, and His Overthrow by Young Hunt and the Fighting Idealists of Cincinnati," *McClure's Magazine* (New York), XXXVIII (1912), 576.

⁴⁵ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Oct. 11, 1885.

trolled the government of Cincinnati, took upon himself the power of making mayors and divided public offices carefully. Sixty per cent of them were filled by Republicans and forty per cent by Democrats.

In 1888, Cox was rewarded further by being appointed State inspector of oil. In this office he functioned well as there were many jobs which could be filled with Republicans. In the meanwhile, however, Cox found himself closely associated with George Moerlein, also intimately connected with local and State Republican politics. Late in 1890, Cox aided Moerlein to elect Valentine Heim to the sheriff's office. In the ensuing quarrel, Cox broke with Moerlein and eventually broke the man himself, for Moerlein's leadership declined and Cox again controlled local politics.

After James E. Campbell became governor, he replaced Foraker's Board of Public Affairs in Cincinnati with a Board of Public Improvements. This merely meant, of course, that Democrats had been returned to power. Within a short time, Cox, through his bipartisan control, so hamstrung the actions of the board that Campbell was forced to dismiss its members.⁴⁶ Easy triumphs were not, however, to be too frequent. In 1891, Cox almost lost his prestige and influence over the election of a police judge.⁴⁷ Six years later he received one of the major setbacks of his colorful career. He supported the nomination of Levi C. Goodale who was running for mayor against a popular German, Democratic candidate, Gustav Tafel. The Democrat won, and then it remained for Cox to win from Tafel the support of his own henchmen. Before long three Democrats, Mike Mullen, Wade H. Ellis, and Ellis G. Kinkead, deserted the cause for Cox's standard. Cincinnati's Republican boss again controlled a Democratic Board of Legislation. From then until the turn of the century and even after, Cox controlled the city.

From his little office over the Mecca Saloon, the physically unattractive Cox pulled the strings controlling one of America's greatest cities. Henchmen, office seekers, police captains, ward leaders and underworld characters operated, it is said, according to his

⁴⁶ Henry C. Wright, *Bossism in Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1905), 41.

⁴⁷ Cincinnati *Commercial-Tribune*, May 21, 1916.

instructions. A three-man cabinet for years assisted the real dictator of Cincinnati. Garry Hermann, resourceful and calculating, controlled City Hall activities and collected funds. Rud Hynicka bossed Hamilton County and kept Cox's card catalogue of voters up to date. Mike Mullen, one-time Democrat, called the tunes to which the council pranced. He was pictured as adept at organizing picnics, planning political outings and benefiting bums and bummers.⁴⁸ These, together with a corps of rigidly-controlled ward captains, a group of precinct committeemen and a working arrangement with the Democratic party formed a strong machine. In the main, ward captains were appointed by Cox himself. These ward administrators held responsible jobs in the Cox machine. Fred Bader, for example, was county recorder, William H. Lenders was a police court judge, Fred Maag was superintendent of the street-cleaning department, Joseph A. Brown was superintendent of markets and August Hermann was president of the New Water Works Corporation. Daniel W. Brown, assistant United States Postmaster in Cincinnati, and Vivian Fagin, United States Marshal, were also ward captains.⁴⁹

At the height of his strength Cox probably controlled more than five thousand jobs. He believed that it was politically better to employ four men at a thousand dollars each man than one man at a salary of four thousand dollars. Four men could control more votes than could a single individual and every individual on Cox's payroll was expected to control at least five votes. Five thousand jobs, therefore, probably meant somewhere around twenty-five thousand votes. Applicants seeking work were hired more for their vote-getting ability than for their technical skill. A working agreement with the Democratic party, of course, made difficult manipulations easier.

If Cox resorted to graft, it was not the type covered by statute as being illegal. In the first place, Cox was not an elected public officer of Cincinnati. When he acted, he functioned as a private citizen. In the second place, there was no law against campaign con-

⁴⁸ Turner, "The Thing Above the Law," 580.

⁴⁹ Wright, *Bossism in Cincinnati*, 70.

tributions. Then again, election bets were entirely legal. Controlling votes as he did, Cox could swing any election to favor his placing of bets. Finally, franchises and contracts were arranged in such manner as to be perfectly legal, but it was also perfectly clear that certain "dividends" would have to be declared if a firm wished to negotiate successfully a bid or contract. Later in life, Cox entered the banking business. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* once charged Cox with gaining more than twenty thousand dollars in graft from his appointment to the Decennial Board of Equalization.⁵⁰

Although Boss Cox constantly was in the public eye and cartoons of him appeared frequently, he was intimately known by few. He married once and had no children. He attended the theater regularly with his wife and in later years enjoyed motoring in luxurious limousines. Fascinated by baseball all his life, he owned a controlling interest in the Cincinnati Reds.

A Cincinnati resident remembers seeing Cox in a German restaurant. He was a heavy-set, ruddy-faced, not unhandsome man.⁵¹ One of *McClure's* authors pictured him as coldly reflective and a man of whom men were afraid. Others said Cox was lacking in tact, that he was tight-fisted, and that he was personally unattractive. The truth probably is that Cox was a number of things to a variety of men. That he was a brilliant, practical politician there is no doubt; that he was aloof seems a certainty; that he was able to inspire loyalty either through fear or devotion is a truism; and that he was far from being the ogre pictured in cartoons is an actuality. On the other hand, he was intensely realistic, unscrupulous and successful in his chosen field. At his death, even the *Enquirer* was moved to refer to him as a "leader of men."⁵² Cox himself, in one of his rare public statements, revealed something of his own character. After saying that he had never made a dollar out of politics, that he had taken the schools and the fire and police departments out of politics, Cox referred to himself as Cincinnati's boss. He

⁵⁰ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Oct. 11, 1885.

⁵¹ Herbert F. Koch, An Ohio Warwick, Something of the Life and Times of George Barnsdale Cox, MS. (Cincinnati Public Library), 2.

⁵² Cincinnati *Enquirer*, May 21, 1916.

concluded by saying, "A boss is not necessarily a public enemy."⁵³

Cleveland, like Cincinnati and other smaller Ohio cities, had bosses. At the close of the Civil War one of the most influential men in Cleveland politics was Edwin Cowles, publisher of the *Cleveland Leader*. A bitter antislavery man, Cowles was one of the early supporters of the Republican party. After the war when the issue of slavery had been settled, Cowles transferred his fury to the Roman Catholic Church. He supported the Order of the American Union, a secret society whose primary purpose, it seems, was to prevent Catholics from holding public office. In 1877, the entire Republican ticket swept the municipal elections. Most of the candidates were said to be members of the American Union. The slate, wrote a close observer, "was framed up in Cowles' private office, and as night clerk out in front my slumbers of evenings were often disturbed by the loud discussions of those local patriots."⁵⁴

Although Cowles was a strong party leader, it may be that he was not the real boss of Cleveland during the seventies and eighties. Silas Merchant, a contractor, was said not only to have bossed the Republican party, but also, from time to time, to have controlled the Democrats. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that, for a time at least, Cowles and Merchant jointly jerked city strings. Their methods were identical with those of other bosses elsewhere. Money was placed where it would do the most good; voters were herded from one poll to another by energetic fire department lieutenants; and "repeating" apparently went unchallenged.

By 1880, however, the *Cleveland Herald* indicated a shift in political control. A group of Cleveland business men led by Marcus A. Hanna purchased the sheet and made it virtually a house organ for the local Republican party. The *Cleveland Leader*, itself a Republican newspaper, probably struck near the truth when it characterized the Hanna journal as one in which nothing detrimental would be said concerning street railroads and other capitalized interests.

Hanna, "The Red Boss of Cleveland," usually was depicted by

⁵³ *Cincinnati Post*, May 20, 1916.

⁵⁴ Charles E. Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1925), 7.

cartoonists as a rotund man in a checkered suit liberally embossed with the dollar sign and wearing a huge gold watch chain.⁵⁵ This jolly, clever individual who made presidents was something new in the way of bosses. He was an innovation in American political history—a business man in politics. Until the Hanna era business men could not be sullied by entering the dirty, corrupt practice of ward politics. Professional politicians were considered something not quite decent. Mark Twain's witticism at a banquet well expressed this viewpoint. "There is a Congressman—I mean a son-of-a-bitch—But why do I repeat myself?"⁵⁶

Marcus Alonzo Hanna, of Quaker ancestry, was born in New Lisbon, Ohio, on September 24, 1837. His father moved to Cleveland where he engaged in the wholesale grocery business. Young Hanna received his early schooling in the Lake Erie city and was a student at Western Reserve University. After his father's death in 1862, Mark, as he was to be known generally, applied himself diligently to the grocery trade. Energetic and capable, Hanna became a gay figure in Cleveland's social life. He served with a volunteer regiment for about a hundred days during the Civil War and reentered business with vigor. At the same time he was courting Charlotte Augusta Rhodes, daughter of a staunch Democrat and a leading coal and iron merchant. After their marriage in 1864, Hanna entered the business of his father-in-law. Curious and enthusiastic, the young man absorbed detail and shrewdly invested money in ore, mines and boats. It is said that he financed the first steel boats to sail the Great Lakes. He interested himself in his workmen, but not, it seems, from any philanthropic motive. Contented laborers, like cows, produce more and the ultimate goal in Hanna's career was dividends and more dividends.

To this end, he shaped his destiny. The jingle of the moneybag was sweet music to his ears and the Republican party to Hanna at times was no more than the drawstring which kept the bag secure. The simple Hanna political thesis went something like this: The

⁵⁵ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 7, 1898.

⁵⁶ Quoted in Thomas Beer, *Hanna* (New York, 1929), 70.

Republican party was good for business; what was good for business was good for the country; therefore, the Republican party was good for the country. That naïve creed carried Hanna a long way, but his biographers point out that Hanna was never blinded by loyalty to the Republican elephant. As a matter of fact, he once bolted the party to help elect a reputable Democratic mayor of Cleveland.⁵⁷ The truth of the matter apparently is that Hanna willingly carried water for the elephant only as long as the elephant worked for him. The teamwork seldom broke down.

Hanna's first dabblings in Cleveland politics were minor. He interested himself in precinct and ward policies. He helped at the polls and otherwise made himself useful. In 1869, his services were rewarded when he was elected to the Board of Education. By 1876, when he had acquired extensive street-railway franchises, he was considered a local politician who sponsored City Council candidates known to be favorable to business. For ten years he was a local factor and for a time even organized neighborhood business men. Politics, however, remained a side issue. Politics were to reenforce and strengthen and protect his business investments. When Hanna controlled the City Council, he did so because he was primarily interested in the protection of street-railway franchises, not because he wanted to control Cleveland politics. Nevertheless, in doing the former he succeeded, to a large degree, in accomplishing the latter.⁵⁸

As Hanna gradually adjusted himself to Cleveland Republicanism, he learned to do small things with a grin. No chore apparently was too unpleasant for the energetic iron-monger. His party cheerfully permitted him to collect money for campaign purposes. He himself gave liberally and succeeded in persuading others to do so. In later life, Hanna was to win fame as the official collector for the party. McKinley was to have reason to be grateful for Hanna's talent.

⁵⁷ Herbert Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna, His Life and Work* (New York, 1912), 113, 115; Beer, *Hanna*, 69.

⁵⁸ David Loth, *Public Plunder* (New York, 1938), 244.

After the purchase of the *Cleveland Herald*, Hanna became a real power in Cleveland politics. Not only was he a wealthy ore merchant and a public utility magnate; he now was also a publisher. Rivalry between the *Leader* and the *Herald* became bitter. The forthright Cowles was as adamant as the determined Hanna. In 1883, Cowles was able to help defeat George W. Gardner whom Hanna was supporting for mayor. It was Gardner who sponsored Hanna and encouraged the State committee to place Cleveland's boss upon the finance committee. From then on Hanna assumed greater importance in State and national politics than he did in local affairs. He became friendly with leaders such as Charles Foster, Joseph Foraker and William McKinley. For years Hanna was McKinley's closest political adviser and was known as the director of the successful campaign for the presidency in 1896. In addition, Hanna controlled much federal patronage during the McKinley administration and furnished the President advice on many of the important problems of the day. Mrs. Foraker once recalled Hanna as a man worn out, but driving himself ambitiously to gain coldly calculated ends.⁵⁹ After the National Republican Convention of 1896, Hanna's friendship with Foraker cooled. By this time the Hearst newspapers were attacking Hanna viciously. He was accused of all the evil traits common to the city boss. He was said to be ruthless, to hold the Cleveland City Council in chains, to terrorize workmen and labor unions, and to corrupt decent politics. Murat Halstead, a friendly journalist, vainly attempted to create another, more pleasing picture of Hanna.⁶⁰

Although the energetic Hanna had protested from time to time that he had no desire for public office, the man was flattered when he thought he might be elected United States Senator. The election of McKinley had paved the way. The situation developed when John Sherman was appointed Secretary of State. This created a vacancy in the Senate. Governor Bushnell, despite his friendship

⁵⁹ Julia B. Foraker, *I Would Live It Again* (New York, 1932), 97.

⁶⁰ Murat Halstead, "Marcus A. Hanna," *Review of Reviews* (New York), XIV (1896), 421 ff.

with Foraker, appointed Hanna to fill Sherman's unexpired term. He knew that the legislature to convene in the autumn of 1897 would determine finally whether Hanna not only should complete Sherman's term, but also should be elected for a full term. Hanna believed that the State Republican machine would support him. In this he was correct. In 1897, the Republican State Convention approved him, as did an overwhelming majority of the county conventions. In the meantime, Hanna stumped the State in his own interests.

The Democrats themselves were not inactive. They were running a business man, Horace L. Chapman, for governor against the re-nominated Republican Bushnell. When votes were tallied, it was found that Bushnell had been reelected and that Republicans controlled both houses of the legislature. Yet Hanna's grasp of a senator's toga was still uncertain. Not all Republicans were pledged to him. In addition, the Foraker elements were unfriendly, and Robert E. McKisson, mayor of Cleveland whom Hanna previously had opposed, led the attack. Hanna again and again was painted as the apostle of "Big Business."

Newspapers accused Hanna of bribery and predicted that "the resistance of the purses of money is to be supplemented with the sandbag." It was charged that the boss of Cleveland "hippodromed the President [McKinley] to make votes for his own tottering fortune."⁶¹ The next day the Democratic-inspired *Enquirer* screamed, "Brag, Bluster and Boodle will avail the Cleveland Dictator nothing." It charged that Hanna had induced Henry M. Boyce to secure votes and that Boyce had been guaranteed protection.

Even the Cleveland *Plain-Dealer* confessed that the "Foraker men, big and little, came by their opposition to Hanna honestly enough. They have grievances, personal, petty grievances, perhaps when viewed through the universal eye, but grievances big as mountains when brought into individual focus. For your politician is not naturally a noble-minded animal."⁶² The *Plain-Dealer* frankly

⁶¹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 1, 1898.

⁶² Cleveland *Plain-Dealer*, Jan. 2, 1898.

admitted that it was supporting Hanna on the purely practical grounds that he could do more for Cleveland than a senator from the southern part of the State. His influence in the party and with McKinley counted much.⁶³

"Hanna," stoutly said another editor, "is confronted by a situation in the Ohio legislature which he might have anticipated. Part of the Republican opposition to him comes from those advocates of decency who are disgusted with commercial bossism, and part, so it is alleged, from legislators who are disposed to force this candidate of dollars and cents to buy them. Hanna finds himself in a complication created by the debauchery of electors which he himself inaugurated."⁶⁴ At this time the Lisbon *Journal* said that Hanna's election "would mean that hereafter Republicans of Ohio will consider wealth the first qualification for the highest position within their grasp." It was said that members of the legislature had been bribed to cast their votes for Hanna.⁶⁵

Columbus was in an uproar. A member of the legislature was kidnapped by the anti-Hanna group and "rescued" by Republicans loyal to Hanna. When the tumult died, the legislature followed the instructions of the State convention and elected Hanna. His troubles, however, were not yet over. A State Senate committee investigated the charges of bribery and recommended to the United States Senate that Hanna not be permitted to retain his seat. No conclusive proof nor willing witnesses were produced, and the situation quietly died.

Hanna now became the acknowledged leader of Ohio Republicanism in Cleveland, throughout the State, and in the Nation. He was complimented as being a natural political leader, thoroughly honest and passionately loyal.⁶⁶ He was damned as being "arbitrary, tyrannical, overbearing, and in short, a boss in politics."⁶⁷ He was castigated by editors, one of whom said, "He stands for all that is

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1898.

⁶⁴ *Lima Times-Democrat*, Jan. 4, 1898.

⁶⁵ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 11, 1898.

⁶⁶ Beer, *Hanna*, 165.

⁶⁷ *Cleveland Plain-Dealer*, Jan. 4, 1898.

undemocratic, arbitrary, gross, and brutal in politics, and his defeat by his own party will tend to purge politics of some of those features which have been so freely and flagrantly used by him in his efforts to secure party or personal success.”⁶⁸

He characterized himself in a letter to David K. Watson when he wrote the revealing line so frequently quoted in the election of 1897, “You have been in politics long enough to know that no man in public office owes the public anything.” Hanna’s friendship with Rockefeller and his approval of the tactics of the Standard Oil Company damned him in the minds of thousands.⁶⁹ The widow of Governor Foraker, on the other hand, remembered him upon one occasion as a pleasant boss whose friends won coveted public offices.⁷⁰ The American public, however, following the anti-Hanna cartoonists, continued to interpret him as a human caricature of the dollar sign and as the symbol of corruption in both high and low places until his death in 1904.⁷¹

In addition to Hanna, McLean and Cox, Ohio developed other bosses. Charles Foster, once called “pioneer and apostle of Boodle in Ohio,” not only bossed Fostoria, but also the State.⁷² Calvin Sellars Brice, “sharpest and cutest” fraternity man at Miami University, won acclaim as a high-handed, dogmatic leader.⁷³ Still others included Henry B. Payne, John W. Bookwalter and George Hoadly. As a matter of fact, almost any successful politician almost automatically was labeled “boss” by the opposition. Whether a man was a “boss” or a “leader” depended, in part, upon who was calling names.

Foster and Brice deserve special attention. Both were successful and both wielded the political scepter with skill. Foster, an ardent Republican, organized a normally Democratic district so thoroughly that he was able to represent it for three terms in Congress. In 1879,

⁶⁸ Lima *Times-Democrat*, Jan. 7, 1898.

⁶⁹ Ida M. Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1904), II, 147.

⁷⁰ Foraker, *I Would Live It Again*, 99.

⁷¹ Cleveland *Plain-Dealer*, Jan. 1, 1898 for typical cartoon.

⁷² Myers, *Bosses and Boodle*, chap. VI.

⁷³ *Miami Student*, Oct., 1888.

Ohio Republicans nominated him for governor. It is said that he introduced the pre-election poll to determine results, sent political missionaries into doubtful districts and inaugurated in Ohio the practice of using large sums of money to influence votes. His opponent, Thomas Ewing, a leader in the Greenback movement, was described as a giant in eloquence. Foster was ridiculed as a "played-out candidate" who could deliver only one old, threadbare speech.⁷⁴ The Cleveland *Times* described the lord of Fostoria as narrow-minded, soulless, selfish, cold, calculating, and grasping.⁷⁵ Democrats referred to Foster as "Calico Charlie" because he had no higher occupation during the Civil War than measuring calico. It was said that when "the government mule heard that a party in Ohio was making a bloody shirt campaign with a man at the head of the ticket who never smelt powder, but stayed at home and sold calico to soldiers' wives at 62½ cents per yard he laid down and died."⁷⁶

Despite ridicule, Foster turned the calico charge to good account. Loyal Republicans wore calico neckties during the campaign and women appeared in "Calico Charlie" dresses. When the votes were tabulated, Foster had won over Ewing by a majority of more than seventeen thousand. At the end of his first term, he was reelected. His administration was characterized by efficiency and courage. His bipartisanship was unusual. "It is no evidence of fitness for a place in them," he said, referring to personnel of state institutions, "that a man is an efficient partisan, or that a woman is the relative of an efficient partisan, and yet this has been made in many cases the decisive test of qualification for the most difficult and delicate posts and responsibilities in them."⁷⁷ In addition, Foster encouraged education throughout the State, proper inspection of mines and protection of forests. He sponsored the Pound Law for the taxation of saloons and permitted the people to indicate their choice between a system of licenses for saloons or for prohibition. In the election of 1883, Foster and the Republican ticket were defeated primarily

⁷⁴ Coshocton *Democrat*, Sept. 30, 1879.

⁷⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1879.

⁷⁶ Coshocton *Democrat*, Sept. 30, 1879.

⁷⁷ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1880, I, 564.

because of their stand upon the liquor question. In 1891, he was named secretary of the treasury by Harrison. Believing in the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, he supported programs destined to maintain the parity of gold and silver. He was no friend of domestic free coinage, although he favored international bimetallism.

Brice, whose name frequently appeared in Republican papers as Calvin "Sullars" Brice, was as staunch a Democrat as Foster was a member of the opposition.⁷⁸ Born in Denmark, Ohio, Brice was graduated from Miami University in 1863. After studying law at the University of Michigan, he was admitted to the Cincinnati bar in 1866. His interests turned to corporation law. In 1870, however, he gave up the actual practise of law to engage in railroad promotion and financial manipulation. He interested himself in the construction of a railroad from Toledo to the coal fields of Ohio. In 1887, he became president of the Lake Erie and Western. In addition, he was a stockholder and investor in many local businesses.

Brice, like Hanna, was a businessman turned politician. To Brice and Hanna politics were devices by which personal financial interests could be protected. Brice supported Tilden in 1876 and Cleveland in 1884. Four years later he was a delegate-at-large to the National Democratic Convention at St. Louis where he became a member of the National Democratic Committee. In 1889, he was chairman of the same committee. By that time, Brice was sufficiently important to be spoken of in glowing terms as a poor boy who by perseverance and business tact had made good.⁷⁹ Republican papers were not so complimentary. The usual sneers were directed at him. He was charged with spending money to win votes, of making extravagant promises, and of being the tool of Wall Street. As a matter of fact, Brice probably was better known on Wall Street than he was in Ohio.

In 1890, the Democratic legislature named Brice to succeed Henry B. Payne in the United States Senate. The conservative nature of the action was apparent to any careful observer. Brice was

⁷⁸ Myers, *Bosses and Boodle*, cartoons facing 116, 153, 180, 242, 274.

⁷⁹ *Miami Student*, Oct., 1888.

careful during his Washington career to guard this conservatism. As a member of the steering committee of the Democratic party, Brice helped to change Cleveland's low-tariff policy into one of protection. He also opposed any real stand on the pressing silver question, and in 1895 urged the adoption of a vague Democratic declaration which was both conservative and meaningless. After his retirement from the Senate, he lived in New York City where his financial heart had beat for so many years. It could hardly be said accurately that Calvin "Sellars" Brice possessed "keen sagacity," or a "comprehensive grasp of public affairs," or even that "his penetration into the science of government, made him a power that will cause him to be written as a statesman whose career has left an impress for good and for all time on the nation."⁸⁰

The legal organization of Ohio cities probably made municipal bossing relatively easy. In the first place, cities, towns and villages were controlled by the legislature. That is, the Assembly enacted laws necessary for the correct administration of municipal government. Local self-government was not to become permanent in Ohio until the constitutional changes of 1912 were adopted. In 1891, Governor Campbell called attention to the pressing need for municipal reform. "Municipal reform," he said, "is a great and absorbing question everywhere; but nowhere more than in Ohio, where it has become necessary to patch city governments with legislative enactments designed to correct real or imaginary grievances. This form of relief has proven to be either temporary in its nature, or productive of greater ills than those which it was intended to cure."⁸¹

Governor Campbell went on to say that the time had come for a complete change of program. He recommended that a system be devised which would end legislative tampering with local affairs. He proposed that cities be permitted to model their own governments provided that those governments conformed to the constitution and to the general statutes in force throughout the State.

⁸⁰ *Lima Times-Democrat*, Dec. 20, 1898.

⁸¹ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1891, I, 3.

He pointed out that both Cincinnati and Cleveland—"their affairs are badly managed"—probably would ask for a new form of local government. He indicated that Columbus and probably other communities also would be grateful for some sort of home rule. Finally, he urged that a constitutional amendment give this freedom to cities. Unrestricted control of their own affairs, he insisted, should be given the people of every city.

In the second place, Ohio city government as late as 1890 was hampered by the fact that the governor had the power to appoint city election boards and clerks. It was a comparatively easy matter for an unscrupulous governor to pack election boards with biased and partisan members. City bosses knew this and were said to work hand-in-glove with "approachable" governors. An Australian ballot law would have been a great reform.

The root of bad government in cities, averred Governor Campbell, was found in the way candidates were nominated for office. He recommended that municipal nominations be made at primary elections and not in a packed or purchased caucus. "With the Australian ballot for general elections," he concluded, "and an equally well-guarded law (including a compulsory clause) for the government of primary elections, and with non-partisan state, county, and city election boards, the people of Ohio would have an electoral system more nearly perfect than that now known in any country; and one which would thoroughly satisfy all persons who desire fair nominations, and free expression of public sentiment at the polls."⁸²

Republican leaders, horrified at Campbell's reform tendencies, did much to discredit the Democratic leader. They had earlier insisted that Campbell's only interest in ballot-box reform was due to the fact that he was backing a patented ballot box. Ward politicians were warned that men like Campbell could only destroy honest politics! When the legislature, at the insistence of Campbell, finally passed an Australian ballot law which insured the average citizen greater independence and privacy when casting his vote, the howls

⁸² *Ibid.*, I, 6.

of bosses went high. Even the partial plan for home rule for Cincinnati was interpreted by Republican leaders as interference with their inherent rights to rule and ruin a city as they chose.

Bribery during election time, of course, was a well-established method of obtaining city votes. From time to time, the legislature sought to enact bills which would effectively stop such practices. In 1879, the Seitz Anti-Bribery law, as it was popularly known, was much discussed. Its object was to prevent voters from being "bought or bull-dozed" by the candidates.⁸³ By 1890, the revised statutes included many sections pertaining to the conduct of elections. A voter could be challenged if he had received or been promised, directly or indirectly, any money, fee, or reward for his vote. The same section made the age-old custom of "repeating" illegal.⁸⁴ The conduct of elections was carefully provided for and minute instructions described the steps to be taken in registering voters, opening polls and counting votes. Only gradually were modern methods applied to voting. As late as 1912 the use of voting machines was disapproved at Ohio's fourth constitutional convention.

Ohio cities were divided into classes, and subdivided into grades on the basis of population. Before the turn of the century, the first class cities of the State were Cincinnati, Cleveland and Toledo. In the second class, Columbus was the only city of the first grade; Dayton was a second-grade city, and Sandusky, Springfield, Hamilton, Portsmouth, Zanesville and Akron, third-grade cities of the second class. The population of first-class cities ranged from less than ninety thousand to more than two hundred thousand inhabitants.⁸⁵ Provision was also made for the classification of villages and hamlets. In 1898, municipal corporations were divided into fourteen classes with varying subdivisions, and in 1902, the law was revised so that all municipal corporations with populations of five thousand persons became cities, and municipal corporations with less than five thousand were classified as villages.

⁸³ Coshocton *Democrat*, Oct. 7, 1879.

⁸⁴ Ohio Laws, Statutes, etc., *Revised Statutes* (ed. by Florien Giauque), 1890, I, 696, sec. 2920.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 398, sec. 1547-51.

Obviously, before 1902 the richest boodle was to be found in cities of the first class. There the city boss held court and there he perfected his organization. There also were to be found the most votes which in time of need could be swung to either State or national purposes. In the urban center the voter lost his sense of intimacy with his local government. The city hall was only a building to the average man. The political apathy of the average city dweller during the thirty years before the new century was about what it has been since 1900. As a whole, the people were decent, conservative and contented. They abhorred graft and corruption, but with a few exceptions were not sufficiently interested to do anything to eradicate such evils.

An astute observer has described the technique of the city boss. It involved an alliance, he pointed out, between the lower and the better circles of a city. According to this writer, "The upper circle centers in the public utility corporations and the lower circles in the saloons. The upper supplies the money in return for favors; the other distributes the money and supplies the voters. The upper supplies respectability, diplomacy, and legal astuteness; the lower supplies brute force, intimidation, and repeaters. Both circles are necessary to the effective rule of the boss."⁸⁶

The rural population of Ohio recognized the need for municipal reform, but was about as apathetic as city folks. One speaker at a farmers' institute aptly said that "spasms of reform" never remedied a situation for long. What was needed was a steady, persistent quest for improvement. Petty rings, political and otherwise, were condemned, as were political jobbery and spoliation.⁸⁷ The close connection between "Big Business" and politics was denounced by men interested in the workingman. "There is need," maintained one author bitterly, "of scathing editorials, of blistering cartoons, and a great public out-cry against the evil tendencies of corporate power."⁸⁸ Horace Greeley approved the farm and had little love for

⁸⁶ Koch, *An Ohio Warwick*, 20.

⁸⁷ John Gould, "Town Citizenship and its Relation to Rural Improvement Societies," *Ohio Agr. Rep.*, 1897, 448-54.

⁸⁸ *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1888, 198.

American cities. He painted them as crowded, diseased, shameful and horrible.⁸⁹

Yet a reform element already was manifesting itself. The end of an era was ushered in when such liberal progressives as Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland and Samuel M. Jones of Toledo were elected to public office. Both were primarily interested in the people, rather than in special privilege. Each attempted needed municipal changes. Johnson, stimulated by the economic philosophy of Henry George, sought to lighten the heavy tax burden which years of bossism had imposed upon citizens. His progressive tendencies included attempts to improve public parks and charitable institutions. Jones, who was elected mayor of Toledo in 1897, inaugurated similar reforms. Public playgrounds, free schools for younger children and an ardent interest in the underdog whom he considered the victim of an undesirable social order marked his administrations.⁹⁰ McLean, Cox and Hanna might have considered the socially-minded Johnson and Jones entirely foreign to their conception of a municipal leader. Bossism and boodle would tolerate no progressive tendencies. Ohio was to wait until the turn of the century before the tyrant boss should give way to the civic administrator.

⁸⁹ Horace Greeley, *Hints Toward Reforms* (New York, 1853), 360.

⁹⁰ Carl Lorenz, *Tom L. Johnson* (New York, 1911) and *Tom L. Johnson, My Story* (New York, 1913) should be contrasted with Beer, *Hanna* and with Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*.

Buckeye Industry and Business

PIONEER manufacturing centered in the home. There the spinning wheel sang its merry tune and there wool was carded by hand. The farmer was largely self-sufficient. He was his own carpenter, cooper, candle maker and shoemaker. No mail-order houses tempted him with fat catalogues and no rural free delivery brought goods to his door.

"Ohio," commented a visitor after viewing the bustle of Cleveland, the business of Cincinnati and the industry of other humming communities, "already rich in raw materials, and commanding unrivaled facilities for carrying those materials from place to place, perceived the advantages of its location at the gateway of the Middle West, and, adding industry to industry, became one vast resounding workshop."¹

As emigration increased and towns developed at advantageous points, enterprising men with capital laid the foundations of Ohio's industrial progress. The broad sweep of the Ohio River offered a highway from the East to the West. On its surface moved flat-boats and barges packed with manufactured products. The effort to establish factories in the West in order to avoid the expense, delay and uncertainty attendant upon an eastern market and in order to encourage local manufacture had succeeded long before 1870.² During early days agricultural crops were sent down the river to meet the Mississippi and from there moved to New Orleans. Cincinnati, of course, was the thriving entrepot for southern Ohio; it was to remain the primary manufacturing center of the State until after the Civil War. By that time railroads had decreased the im-

¹ Rollin L. Hartt, "The Ohioans," *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), LXXXIV (1899), 681.

² Frank P. Goodwin, "The Rise of Manufactures in the Miami Country," *American Historical Review* (New York), XII (1907), *passim*.

portance of the Ohio as a highway of travel, early meat-packing plants and slaughter-houses had moved westward and the development of the iron, ore and coal industries had shifted attention to the lake region and to Cleveland.

Innumerable mechanical devices caught the public eye. Until the eighteen-seventies new products received tremendous attention as well they might. After that time, however, the novelty wore off and, although interest continued, excitement decreased and became a calculated business objectivity. Even agricultural reports ceased to describe in detail new farm machinery and implements. Ohio was settling down to a sober industrial life dominated by the business corporation, by the establishment of great factories, and by the theory of mass production. The profit motive became dominant. By the turn of the century romanticism had been discarded in favor of business realism.

The language of Governor Reuben Wood in 1852 might not have been understood in 1900. It is doubtful, indeed, if even Wood fully realized the implications of his industrial forecast. "The great advances which have been made within the last few years," he said, "in many of the departments of science, in the mechanical arts, in the various branches of industry, in the application of electricity and steam power to the control, the useful purposes and wants of man, and, by no means, the least, the inventive American genius which has been displayed in producing labor saving machinery, both for the mechanic, the manufacturer and the agriculturist, have already astonished the civilized world, and it is yet entirely uncertain, but still greater developments may be made, and more beneficial results attained."³

Two guides to the history of Ohio's manufacturing and industrial progress are the development of certain cities and the increase in the number of corporations. During the eighteen-forties, Cincinnati led the State in manufacturing; during the next decade, Cleveland forged ahead; and during the Civil War period, Dayton and Toledo developed rapidly. By 1870, the smoke from factories rose

³ *Ohio Exec. Doc., 1851-52*, Vol. X, pt. 1, p. 8.

from many communities which less than a generation before had been primarily agricultural. At the turn of the century Ohio mills, furnaces and factories were determining the mode of life. In Columbus, Springfield, Hamilton, Middletown, Findlay, Fostoria, Youngstown, Akron, Zanesville, Piqua, Troy and Lancaster, to mention but a few, laborers with dinner pails were tending machines, joining unions and punching time clocks.

In 1891, more than twenty separate industries were in the State and more than twelve thousand factories employing five persons or more were in operation. Invested capital amounted to something over \$185,000,000 and the grand total of Ohio products was estimated at more than \$259,000,000. More capital, about nineteen million dollars, was invested in the pig and bar iron industry than in any other. About nineteen thousand workers were employed at an average daily wage of \$1.69. The second largest industry from the point of view of invested capital was the manufacture of agricultural implements. Over eleven million dollars were invested; more than five thousand were employed; and the average daily wage was \$1.13. The State's third great business was centered about brewing and distilling. Capital invested amounted to more than ten million dollars. Almost three thousand were employed and the average daily wage was \$1.65.⁴ Other industries included lumbering, furniture, flour and feed, brass casting, printing, cigars and tobacco, harness and leather, baking, glassware, engines, and ink, oil, and paint.

Certain localities, of course, specialized in manufacturing. Despite the fact, however, that Cleveland was becoming the State's largest city, that it was to be the center of the iron ore industry, that it was attracting thousands of foreigners, and that before the turn of the century, it was the oil center of the Nation—despite all these facts, Cleveland battled desperately to forge ahead of Cincinnati. It was not until after 1900 that Cleveland could term itself the industrial heart of Ohio. By and large, more manufacturing and indus-

⁴ W. A. Taylor, *Ohio Statesmen and Hundred Year Book* (Columbus, 1892), 143-5.

trial establishments were operating in Cincinnati than in Cleveland until the first decade of the twentieth century.

In 1901, for example, Cincinnati concerns for the following industries were more numerous than similar industries in Cleveland: boilers and engines; carriages and wagons; copper and brass; drugs and chemicals; lithography and printing; machinery; iron, steel, and tin roofing; tinware and sheet iron; cigars; and tools. Cleveland, on the other hand, was pushing ahead of Cincinnati in the manufacture of electrical supplies, flavoring extracts, foundry and machine shop products, hardware, structural and architectural iron, paints and varnishes, stamping products, woolen goods, and wire products.⁵

Among the great industries, stimulated by men of wealth and vision, were the Cleveland Iron Company, the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company, and the Standard Oil Company. The Forest City was moulded even as were its iron products by industrialists such as John D. Rockefeller, Samuel L. Mather, Henry M. Flagler and Stephen V. Harkness. Worcester R. Warner and Ambrose Swasey, both from the Nutmeg State, began the manufacture of machine tools and instruments of precision in 1880. Mark Hanna and Thomas Loftin Johnson, both big-business wizards, waged bitter war and perhaps paved the way for modern competitive, business practices. Toward the close of the century, Alexander Winton made and sold an automobile and thus laid the foundations for Cleveland as a manufacturing city of automobile parts. It was not long before "The Flats," as Cleveland's industrial area was called, was jammed with mills, factories and machine shops. Great freighters unloaded ore at docks and laborers, babbling in a multitude of tongues, toiled before furnace blasts, in mighty warehouses, and in front of complicated drills and presses.

Steel, oil and timber were the foundation of Cleveland's striking success as a great industrial and manufacturing center. The city was making iron and steel from ore, refined petroleum from crude

⁵ *Ohio Statistics, 1901*, 50-106.

oil, and ships from the great lumber regions. In 1865, Cleveland's iron-ore trade was valued at \$1,179,200, and its local sales of manufactured wrought iron amounted to six million dollars.⁶ Tugs and oil barges moved up and down the Cuyahoga River, and canal boats laden with wool unloaded cargoes.⁷ During a single month in 1876 the following goods cleared from Cleveland on the Ohio Canal: 982,858 feet of lumber, 1,378,750 shingles, 326,850 lath, and 10,900 bushels of wheat. Four hundred and twenty-four boatloads of coal passed through the weigh locks into the city as did quantities of manufactured goods and farm products.⁸ In 1870, only three iron freighters owned by the Cleveland Iron Company were hauling ore to the factories situated on the Flats,⁹ but an industrial era had begun, and the Forest City was "smoking itself into prosperity."¹⁰

By 1880, Cleveland had developed to a great extent its foundry and machine shops, its men's clothing establishments, its brick and tile works, and its slaughtering and meat-packing industries. In addition, it was expanding its paint, hosiery and knit goods, its lithographing plants, and its car building.¹¹ The total value of iron and steel products manufactured in ten factories amounted in 1880 to more than nine million dollars. Cleveland banks, therefore, did a tremendous business and continued to increase in number for many years.¹² By 1879 seven railroads were a part of the city's transportation pattern, and, with canal and lake traffic, were catering to the needs of about forty-seven thousand persons engaged in a variety of businesses and trades.¹³ Social life was in keeping with a community that rapidly was growing rich and had every hope of becoming even richer.¹⁴

⁶ Archer M. Shaw, *The Plain Dealer* (New York, 1942), 168, 169.

⁷ *Cleveland Leader*, Feb. 11, 1876.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1876.

⁹ James Wallen, *Cleveland's Golden Story* (Cleveland, 1920), 50.

¹⁰ Charles E. Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1925), 53.

¹¹ Samuel P. Orth, *History of Cleveland* (Chicago, 1910), I, 635.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, chap. LXVI.

¹³ Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, *The Industries of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1879), 78-80.

¹⁴ Charles A. Post, *Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West* (Cleveland, 1930), chap. XX.

A golden commercial gateway to wealth, of course, was the oil industry of the Forest City which in 1869 boasted that it surpassed in number of barrels every competitor in the Nation. Consolidation of capital, energy and a strong determination were all factors which eventually made the Standard Oil Company one of the greatest industries not only in Ohio, but also in the United States.¹⁵ John D. Rockefeller combined a series of smaller companies into the Standard Oil Company in 1870 with a capital of one million dollars. Two years later Standard increased its capitalization by one and a half million dollars. By 1880, Rockefeller had by various means secured ownership or control of numerous subsidiary plants, including transportation facilities, refining companies and pipe lines. The object of the Standard Oil Company was to secure the entire refining business of the world.¹⁶ Cleveland could not help but prosper when Standard increased its holdings.

The nineteenth century saw the development of at least three other urban and industrial districts. Columbus, Toledo and Dayton set their tempo to the speed of the machine. In 1858, Columbus possessed only thirty-eight manufacturing establishments, but the general period of expansion after the Civil War saw these increase to many times their original number until in 1908 they numbered more than three hundred.¹⁷ During the seventies, sixteen printing and binding concerns were publishing a wide range of printed materials; next followed the wagon and carriage industry with fifteen establishments; and then came the products of foundries, machine shops, and factories producing tinware, sheet iron, galvanized ironware and machinery itself.¹⁸ C. Bradley was producing agricultural implements and the Columbus Machine Company was making gasoline engines and pumps. Dynamos and electric motors were distributed by the Universal Electric Works, and the Columbus Bicycle Company manufactured a product common during the days

¹⁵ Ida M. Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1925), I, 39.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 231-2.

¹⁷ William A. Taylor, *Centennial History of Columbus and Franklin County* (Chicago, 1909), I, 338.

¹⁸ *Ohio Stat.*, 1891, 113-24.

of the gay nineties.¹⁹ Columbus, of course, was centrally located. Its goods could be shipped to sections of the State via the ever-enlarging network of railroads, and it could tap the rich coal veins of the southeast.

Toledo, situated as it was, close to Lake Erie and to the Miami system of canals, was further aided by railroad building. Wharves and warehouses were packed with goods.²⁰ Its industries were bound to grow as did State and national population and as the appetite for manufactured goods was whetted. Local industries centered about the manufacture of machinery, the dressing of lumber, and the making of brick and tile. A typical Toledo industry was the Union Manufacturing Company incorporated in 1872 with a capital stock of one hundred thousand dollars to build sewing machines. Other Toledo industries were devoted to the making of doors, sashes, shoes, filters and foundry products. In 1884, the Great Western Pin Company was producing about twenty-five hundred cases of pins annually.²¹

Both Dayton and Springfield had assumed industrial importance by 1880. Each was well-located and each was within easy reach of the developing lines of transportation. Dayton's prominence was given impetus as early as 1829 when the Miami and Lake Erie Canal was constructed. Located on this water highway, Dayton became a focal point for the storing and forwarding of supplies. During the early period wagon trains left Dayton with supplies for surrounding counties. When the national highway was built, Dayton was only eight miles from it. During the fifties Dayton received the aid of railroad connections, and from that time its commercial life expanded rapidly. Foundries, machine shops, cooper shops, and agricultural implement factories increased. Early power, as in the case of Hamilton, was furnished by water and hydraulics.²² From 1830

¹⁹ *Ohio Agr. Rep.*, 1897, 232-6.

²⁰ Anna F. Randolph, *The Cultural Geography of Toledo, Ohio* (M. A. thesis, MS., Miami University, 1938), 24.

²¹ Clark Waggoner, ed., *History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County* (New York, 1888), chap. II, *passim*.

²² Ada Cook, *The Growth of Industry in Dayton, Ohio* (M. A. thesis, MS., Miami University, 1940), chap. II.

to 1880, about eighty-two per cent of Dayton's manufacturing concerns were located near the canal in order to utilize its power and to use it as a lane of transportation.²³

Flour mills, linseed oil refineries, iron and brass works, and tile concerns used water power to advantage. The application of steam, however, stimulated old industries and promoted new. For years Dayton was one of the major agricultural implement communities in the State. In 1869, for example, John W. Stoddard began the manufacture of hay rakes and soon enlarged his line to include harrows, plows, planters, and drills. This type of business probably reached its peak during the 1880's. At the turn of the century only four establishments were producing farm machinery. Even the manufacture of railroad cars, begun shortly after the Civil War, did not expand rapidly.

But the 1870's saw the invention of the "mechanical money drawer," and, despite ridicule by local residents the cash register as invented by James Ritty was to revolutionize Dayton's industrial existence. In 1884, John Patterson purchased this novel device for sixty-five hundred dollars and two years later built a factory. The National Cash Register Company brought millions of dollars to Dayton both directly and indirectly. Then, too, Dayton was fast becoming the center of the precision tool industry.

Still another highly useful mechanical aid was the fare register, a device which automatically entered and tabulated street car fares. Invented by John F. Ohmer, the apparatus was manufactured in Dayton with profit. Theodore Schirmer, another Daytonian, perfected an autographic register by which continuous forms could be fed through machines and computed.

Dayton, however, was by no means concerned entirely with gadgets such as these. The city was also the home of the Barney and Smith Car Company which produced railway cars and which by 1872 was doing more than a prosperous business. Iron and brass works were an integral part of the city's industrial activities as were

²³ Harvey W. Crew, *History of Dayton* (Dayton, 1889), 444-7.

varnish factories and the Crawford, McGregor and Canby Company which began manufacturing shoes in 1829. Stoves, sewing machines, boilers, lifting jacks and railway car equipment added to the prosperity of the community.²⁴ In 1900, more than forty-seven different types of industry were at work.

Springfield, a quiet country village in west-central Ohio, was boomed in 1838 when the National Road went through. In addition, the town was not far from the Miami and Erie Canal. These two great arteries of transportation aided Springfield materially. Markets were created, raw materials could be shipped in and finished products could be routed out. In 1846, Springfield's good fortune was emphasized by the coming of the railroad.²⁵ Within four years Springfield began the manufacture of farm machinery. Its older industries, coach and wagon factories, tanneries, distilleries and paper mills, were to fade into the background.

Springfield had earned the picturesque name of the "Champion City" by the early seventies because of its great agricultural implement factories making the "Champion" line of mowers and reapers. William N. Whiteley, six feet tall and weighing about 250 pounds, had manufactured the first Champion product in a small shed. By 1877 he controlled five factories, employed hundreds of men, produced about fifty thousand machines annually and valued his aggregate output at about seven million dollars.

In 1853, Whiteley perfected improvements for farm machinery, notably the reaper and mower. Then was organized the Champion Reaper and Mower Company. The title later was changed to the Champion Binder Company. It became one of the greatest concerns of its kind in the United States. Farmers everywhere seemed to know the Champion binder. By 1875, the concern was making about twenty-five per cent of all the grain harvesters in the world; during the next decade it was producing twelve thousand binders in a single year. In 1886, the organization collapsed. Eventually, the

²⁴ A. W. Drury, *History of the City of Dayton and Montgomery County* (Chicago, 1909), I, chap. XIX, *passim*.

²⁵ Luella Gunn, *Geographic Aspects of Manufacturing in Springfield, Ohio* (M. A. thesis, MS., Miami University, 1931), *passim*.

McCormick interests purchased the plant and operated it. In addition to the Champion line of implements, Springfield was also the home of the Lagonda Works which shipped two hundred carloads of machines to Europe, especially Germany and Russia, in 1876. Other concerns manufactured turbines, steam boilers, patent medicines, furniture, cigars, crackers and brick.²⁶

Among the larger implement plants in Springfield was the Buckeye Agricultural Works, P. P. Mast's industrial pride and joy. In 1874, he was boasting that "the combined floors of these works are now equal to an area of over three acres, and they have a working capacity of over five hundred hands. For the past two years the production has been upwards of ten thousand machines each year, and the indications are that an extensive increase will be required to supply the demand for this year." It was said that Mast's plant annually used more than twelve hundred tons of pig iron, over a thousand tons of wrought iron, and over four hundred thousand feet of lumber in the manufacture of farm machinery. The concern advertised eight different types of implements and machinery, including the Buckeye Force Feed Grain Drill and Grass Sower, the Broadcast Seeder and Cultivator, the Buckeye Cider Mill, the Champion Self-Dumping Hay Rake and high pressure boilers.²⁷

After 1880, when Springfield implement manufacturers were producing about seventy per cent in value of all locally made goods, the farm machinery industry steadily declined. By 1920, the value of agricultural machinery turned out in Springfield had shrunk to about ten per cent of the town's total value. Blatant posters no longer covered Ohio barns extolling the virtues of the Champion line. A new generation was not to know the sense of power their fathers felt when seated on a throbbing Champion binder.

The reasons for the decline of the implement business in Springfield lay not in local affairs, but were a part of a change in Ohio agricultural life. Ohio's population steadily increased after the Civil War. A natural result, as has been shown, was a decrease in

²⁶ Cincinnati *Commercial*, May 7, 1877.

²⁷ *Ohio Farmer*, May 16, 1874.

the size of farms. Men who once had thought of Ohio as a great wheat State were turning to the "corn-belt" type of agriculture. They were integrating corn, fodder crops and animals in a definite plan. They no longer had use for as much complicated machinery for harvesting wheat. Then again, new wheat areas had been opened in the West. The Red River Valley, for example, began to specialize in wheat production. Implement factories were anxious to move closer to the new grain regions of the trans-Mississippi West. Chicago and Moline gradually replaced Springfield in the production of farm machinery.

Loss of the implement business, however, failed to paralyze Springfield productiveness. The city turned to the manufacture of heavy machinery, such as engines, turbines, boilers, and to publishing. Mast, of the Mast cultivator, really fathered the publishing business. His house organ, *Farm and Fireside*, was known to thousands of farmers. From it developed the Crowell Publishing Company of today. Springfield manufacturing also was given impetus by the work of James Leffel, inventor of the water turbine, and by Asa S. Bushnell, businessman of ability and a governor of the State.²⁸

The Cuyahoga Valley and the counties of the Mahoning Valley reflected the spirit of nineteenth-century industrialism. Akron, Canton and Youngstown became thriving factory centers. The Goodrich rubber interests at Akron completely changed the economic complexion of the community; Youngstown was tapping the rich Lake Superior ore regions; and Canton was reflecting the iron and steel boom. In addition, Canton manufactured watches and steel bearings.

In Akron, the "Summit City," the famous line of Buckeye mowers and reapers was made by Lewis Miller, inventor of the first two-wheeled mower. The Miller implement interests in 1877 annually produced two thousand machines valued at \$1,500,000, employed four hundred laborers, and had an annual payroll of three hundred thousand dollars. The only machine with a folding cutter bar, the

²⁸ Benjamin F. Prince, ed., *A Standard History of Springfield and Clark County* (Chicago, 1922), I, chap. XXVIII.

Buckeye rapidly took its place as one of the outstanding aids to farmers the world over. Other flourishing Akron industries during the seventies milled flour, dressed lumber, made matches, produced straw board and paper bags, and manufactured rubber products, tile roofing, sewer pipes, fire brick, and engines, boilers, and industrial machinery.²⁹

Enthusiastic industrialists busily transforming Ohio from a forest State to a factory empire generally operated by means of the corporation. During the pioneer period of industrialization, the operation was relatively simple. An individual with initiative and an idea employed an attorney to draw up articles of incorporation. Officers of the company were named, and stock, common and preferred, was sold. The object was to secure adequate working capital and to pay dividends to directors and other stockholders. By the turn of the century, the procedure had become so involved that corporation lawyers, specialists in the art of organizing and guiding big business, were in demand. When the simple corporation developed into a "trust," "combine," or "monopoly," the intricate involvements were beyond the comprehension of the common man and frequently bewildering even to stockholders.

In 1869, the attorney-general recommended that the entire body of statutes creating and regulating incorporated companies be revised and codified. He said that the law contained "many inconsistent and even repugnant provisions which should be harmonized."³⁰ The legislature repeatedly has revised the statutes, and the attorney general repeatedly has handed down opinions on disputed points. Litigation, however, between corporations still continues to clutter dockets.³¹

Between 1851 and 1874, about four thousand corporations had been organized. From then until 1880, about four hundred a year were set up. Then, as business boomed and Ohio entered its industrial period, corporations increased rapidly. In 1880, 544 con-

²⁹ *Cincinnati Commercial*, May 14, 1877.

³⁰ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1869, I, 670.

³¹ *Ohio Laws, Statutes, etc., Revised Statutes of Ohio* (ed. by Rufus B. Smith and Alfred B. Benedict), 1890, I, 919-36, for one of many revisions in corporation law.

cerns were incorporated; in 1882, 902; and in 1887, 1,251.³² From that time on, the number continued to mount until corporations dominated Ohio's industrial life. Perhaps no better picture of the life and practices of the corporation may be found than that in Ida M. Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company*.

Even the farmer was worried by the mounting wealth of the corporation and by what he considered evil practices inherent in business which had become too large to retain social consciousness. "Out of all this want of legislation and bad legislation," earnestly said a speaker at a farmers' institute in 1897, "has arisen the almost innumerable corporate bodies of the country, granted special franchises and powers by the government, with very little responsibility to the power that gave them life and with very little respect for the people from whom their patronage must come, their management has become corrupt, their stock the plaything of stock boards and individual speculators, their special privileges and franchises looked upon as the individual plunder of those who have them in control; thus vast amounts of capital centering in the hands of a few individuals, the combining of operations, the pooling of interests, and formation of trusts, have made the United States the grandest gambling pools of the world today, for Wall Street is no less a gambling center than the pool rooms of our race courses, whose jockeys are better paid than the professors of our colleges; nor are the grain pits and stock exchanges any less so than the prize rings, whose participants are better paid than the best preachers of our land."³³

Yet the development of big business in Ohio had merit. Only corporations could amass sufficient capital and machinery to manufacture on the grand scale then developing in the United States; only businesses engaged in mass production could offer the public a variety of goods at relatively low prices; and only concerns which reached out to tap raw materials, influence railroad legislation, control banks and manipulate holding companies could transform

³² *Ohio Stat.*, 1888, 4.

³³ F. B. McNeal, "The Farmer in Relation to Other Industrial Citizens," *Ohio Agr. Rep.*, 1897, 458-9.

a sleepy village into a community dotted with factories and overhung with smoke. The corporation both satisfied and standardized life. Ohio was no exception to the general rule which the machine and a thirst for profits imposed upon the Nation at large.

Big business fastened its eyes upon profits, and the worker glanced anxiously at his weekly pay envelope. Both groups were dissatisfied. The former felt that dividends were too small; the latter grumbled because wages were too lean. After the Civil War and until the turn of the century, the Ohio laborer, skilled and unskilled, maintained himself and family on an extremely low income. In 1878, after the panic five years previously had worn itself out, Ohio wages were inadequate to maintain a decent standard of living.

Mechanical labor in Ohio was paid according to local conditions as influenced by the age-old law of supply and demand. In 1874, a blacksmith received \$2.30 a day; bricklayers, \$3.06; cabinet-makers, \$2.24; coopers, \$2.12; carpenters, \$2.33; painters, \$2.29; plasterers, \$2.64; shoemakers, \$2.08; stonecutters, \$2.89, and tailors, \$2.30.³⁴ The average weekly wages paid in 1874 to workers in Ohio and Indiana woolen mills ranged from five dollars to fifteen dollars, depending upon the nature of the work.³⁵ A head cutter in the clothing industry got an average weekly wage of twenty-five dollars and a tanner made about \$12.50 a week.³⁶

"One dollar per day to the laborer," insisted the commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "is absolute poverty even if work is to be had every secular day in the year; it may purchase bread, and water is cheap, but man as well as society cannot live on bread alone."³⁷ Two dollars per day kept the masses of mechanics in poverty. Wealth was increasing faster than population, and machinery was producing power and wealth more rapidly than was thought desirable for the worker. At the same time, the amount of work for the mechanic was decreasing. Machinery was said to be taking man's place.

³⁴ Edward Young, *Labor in Europe and America* (Philadelphia, 1875), 746-7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 753.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 772-3.

³⁷ *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1878, 23.

By 1880, conditions had improved. A foreman in an agricultural implement factory at Springfield received \$20.71 per week; a skilled laborer, \$13.39; an unskilled worker, \$7.72; and a boy, \$3.89. Average weekly wages in other Ohio industries were about the same. A decade later conditions had bettered themselves somewhat, but it is doubtful if the purchasing power of the laborer was much greater than it had been some twenty years earlier. In 1900, a foreman in a concern making agricultural implements received \$2.83 a day; a boilermaker, \$1.90; a laborer, \$1.41; and a boy, 75¢.³⁸

The status of working women was even worse than that of men. They worked at a younger age, their periods of employment varied more and their pay was less. As early as 1857, Edward D. Mansfield pointed out the low wages received by women in the Cincinnati clothing business. "The condition of these women," he said, "has frequently been the subject of earnest inquiry by benevolent persons; but every attempt to increase their wages is met by the stern fact that any considerable increase would drive the business from Cincinnati, from the State, and perhaps the United States."³⁹

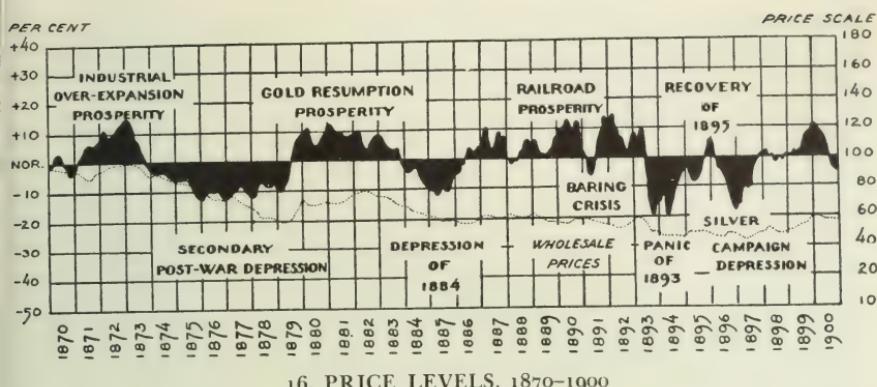
Almost fifty years later, the situation throughout Ohio was substantially the same. In Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, the average wage per week for women was \$4.83. It was estimated that weekly living costs for these workers amounted to \$2.44 for food, 17¢ for rent, light and heat, \$1.25 for clothing, and \$1.38 for other necessities. The average age of these workers was in the early twenties. The girls worked about fifty-seven hours a week. Their nationality ranged in the following order: American, German, Irish, English, Bohemian, Russian and Hungarian.⁴⁰

A special investigator from the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported upon the woman laborer in Columbus. She visited twenty-five types of industries including awning and flag factories, paper bag and paper box plants, boot and shoe concerns, clothing factories, bakeries, laundries, and casket factories. She found the piece-work

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1901, 156.

³⁹ *Ohio Stat.*, 1857, 27.

⁴⁰ *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1901, 802-4.



16. PRICE LEVELS, 1870-1900

system in operation; she saw girls working on damp, unsanitary floors; she witnessed dangerous machines without workers' safeguards; she reported dirty and unsanitary toilets; she noticed narrow and cluttered stairs; she described rooms so crowded that girls hampered one another at work; she noticed women dipping chocolates in a damp cellar by gas light; and she glimpsed establishments heated to suffocation by stoves and chilled by open windows. On the other hand, she inspected factories where ventilation was good, rest rooms adequate and general morale high.⁴¹

The Cincinnati *Enquirer*, after investigating conditions of work and wages of girls and women in local industries, exposed the miserable conditions and low rate of pay. A gloomy picture was painted of pathetic scenes of trial, privation and suffering. Entire families, it reported, were living on two dollars a week and were facing starvation. It maintained that poverty was driving thousands of girls into the "vortex of sin." In laundries and sewing shops women were receiving as little as \$1.25 a week and sixteen cents for making a pair of pants. One woman, earning five dollars weekly, was supporting a grandfather, a small boy, a nine-year-old girl, and an eleven-year-old son. The "awful struggle between pride and pinching poverty" was said to destroy morale and to be a social crime.⁴²

The wages of farm hands, miners and other skilled and unskilled

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 672-7.

⁴² Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Apr. 13, 1890.



17. TWENTY CENTS A DAY—THE PLIGHT OF THE FEMALE LABORER
Harper's Weekly, Feb. 28, 1885.

groups corresponded fairly well with those of factory workers. In 1888, for example, the average daily wage of a farm hand was 72¢; for a coal miner, \$1.57; for an iron ore miner, \$1.12; for an unskilled laborer, \$1.17; and for a skilled laborer, \$1.48.⁴³ White-collar workers fared little better, although they had the somewhat dubious satisfaction of referring to themselves as "employees" rather than as "workers." A salesman in a mercantile establishment in Holmes County might receive as little as sixty-seven cents a day. If he were fortunate enough to be employed in Licking County, his daily pay might be \$2.02. A saleswoman in Holmes County sometimes got sixty cents and in Licking County thirty-nine cents. Bookkeepers, perched on high stools, were in the class with minor executives, although they were treated, in many instances, as slaves. Nevertheless,

⁴³ *Ohio Labor Statistics, 1888*, 250

their daily income in 1888 ranged from ninety-six cents in Paulding County to \$4.41 in Montgomery County.⁴⁴

In general, railroad employees received higher wages than other Ohio groups, but they varied considerably. A superintendent on the Ohio and Mississippi Railway might have been paid over four hundred dollars a month; if the same man, however, had worked for the Chagrin and Southern Railroad, his monthly pay check could have been written for as little as \$12.50. Clerks probably averaged about fifty dollars a month and engineers from forty dollars to \$125.00. Conductors and station men varied considerably. The Cincinnati and Springfield line paid conductors \$86.29 and station agents \$32.42. On the Cincinnati, Georgetown, and Portsmouth Railroad, baggagemen were paid forty dollars; brakemen, thirty-five dollars; firemen, thirty-five dollars; mechanics, ninety dollars; and laborers, twenty-six dollars.⁴⁵

In the small town and village, labor was equally cheap, although it must be remembered that in such communities the cost of living was more reasonable. Printers got less than three dollars a week; plasterers about \$2.50; painters, less than two dollars; tinniers about two dollars; cabinet-makers, two dollars; tailors, two dollars; moulders, about \$2.40; cigar makers, less than \$1.50; and machinists, \$2.19. The same general rate held for carpenters, coopers and blacksmiths. Bricklayers did somewhat better, averaging \$3.24 a week.⁴⁶

Wages such as these seem to bear little relation either to return on capital invested or to the value of annual products. It is difficult, of course, to determine either gross or net profit before 1900. Big business was loath to release statistics revealing its earnings. "It is to be regretted," said the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, "that not a few employers seem to regard all efforts, by whomsoever made, to collect industrial statistics, as so inquisitorial in character as to justify them in treating them with indifference."⁴⁷

Yet it was felt generally that corporations were making fantastic

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 251-2.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 214-9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 232-46.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

profits. Local communities saw presidents of industrial concerns become wealthy, and citizens knew that prosperous companies were declaring handsome dividends. Stockholders in thriving industrial centers were building new homes, holding gala parties, and thinking of themselves as the "wealthy class." Not only did the worker resent this unequal distribution of profits, but the State also became annoyed, although for quite a different reason. As late as 1910, Governor Harmon pointed out that no figures were available to show the total amount of credits or investments in stocks and bonds. He indicated that many of the capitalists in the State were not making tax returns on their securities. "What have entirely escaped," he said, "are mainly stocks, bonds, money and credits. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that the owners of these will all make full and fair returns."⁴⁸

The first annual report of the Tax Commission of Ohio was equally blunt. More than forty-six thousand corporations were doing business in Ohio. Of the domestic corporations doing business for profit, less than one-third reported or paid fees. The amount due the State, exclusive of penalties, was estimated at not less than \$1,500,000.⁴⁹ The number of tax delinquent corporations in the State was so great that the Tax Commission found it could not compile a complete list in time for its first report! The attorney-general was ordered to institute suits against certain corporations which had failed to make tax returns. Among the first was an action against the Columbus Railway Company which had not paid taxes for seven years.

Ohio's commercial and industrial development rested, to a great extent, upon mining. Coal and ore were needed to produce power and finished products. In 1857, it was pointed out that thirty Ohio counties, embracing some twelve thousand square miles, were underlaid with coal. Twenty counties, covering about eight thousand square miles, were mining iron ore. The coal deposits were located in counties east of the Scioto and between Lake Erie and the Ohio

⁴⁸ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1910, I, 71.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 98, 101.

River.⁵⁰ The Lawrence, Jackson and Hocking Valley regions and the Cleveland-Youngstown area were rich in iron ore.

Until the Civil War both types of mining, although important, were not extensive. Nevertheless, production was increasing rapidly. In 1840, only about three and a half million bushels of coal were mined; twenty years later the total had jumped to fifty million bushels. In 1840, only about twenty-six tons of pig iron were produced; in 1860, about five thousand men were mining over 105,000 tons. Lawrence County was leading all others in iron production in 1860 and Meigs County was the most prominent coal-producing center.⁵¹ At the close of the war, Ohio's coal yield was estimated at fifty million bushels, and its iron at not less than 110,000 tons of pig metal.⁵² By 1871, fourteen counties were manufacturing pig iron. Among them were Mahoning, Lawrence, Vinton, Jackson and Jefferson counties. About ten years later Perry, Trumbull, Columbiana, Belmont and Meigs counties were leading in coal production.

"The natural market of Ohio coal is Ohio," commented E. B. Andrews, who pointed out that the State's industrial progress would depend upon this fuel. "We have so much coal stored away in the hills of Ohio, that figures would hardly give the number of years of human labor it truly represents. How can we best utilize this potential labor in our coal? By manufactures of various kinds. We have scarcely any coal in the State, which will not answer well for the generation of steam. With this steam power, we should manufacture in Ohio the wool grown here and cotton from the South which can easily be brought here. Our forests furnish vast quantities of timber, suitable for nearly all the purposes for which wood is used. Our coals should evaporate our abundant brines, burn common and hydraulic lime, make glass, burn fire brick, etc. etc."⁵³

Ohio industrialists needed no urging to make them utilize the State's iron and coal. They knew that without machinery forged

⁵⁰ *Ohio Stat., 1857*, 33-4.

⁵¹ *Ibid., 1860*, 29-30.

⁵² *Ibid., 1866*, 27.

⁵³ E. B. Andrews, "The Mineral Resources of South-Eastern Ohio, and Their Prospective Development," *Ohio Stat., 1871*, 45.

from iron and steel and run by the steam engine "all the steps required to effect changes of ownership, would be slow, toilsome, and, in many instances, entirely impracticable."⁵⁴ The result was the opening of mine after mine. Side-seams were exposed, and coal carted out during long working days. Miners, entry drivers, mule drivers, dumpers and weigh masters all labored to feed the roaring furnaces converting bituminous coal into steam power. Blast furnaces in Akron, Cleveland, Zanesville and Massillon shot fiery sparks high into the night. In the great rolling mills, heaters, rollers and catchers worked the iron ore as it was devoured by the maw of industry.

The Panic of 1873 depressed both the iron and coal industries in Ohio, but by the end of the decade normal conditions were prevailing. In October, 1880, for example, forty-seven out of the fifty-four rolling mills in the State were operating with a staff of more than ten thousand workers.⁵⁵ A high protective tariff since the Civil War had aided the industry, but not sufficiently to protect it against the panic. General business revival, the upturn in the iron industry, a steady increase in manufactures, the opening of railroads, and a healthy domestic demand stimulated the coal industry. The output for 1880 exceeded any single previous year. More than six million tons were mined at an average cost to the consumer of \$2.25 per ton.⁵⁶

Cleveland was the great distributing center for Ohio coal, and the Mahoning Valley was the most productive area. A decade later machine mining was replacing the older pick mining, and a general increase was reported in the industry. The number of mines had increased; the number of workers had swelled; and the tonnage and value of each of the separate grades had moved upward.⁵⁷ By 1900, mining was a mighty industry. Thirty counties, led by Guernsey, Jackson and Belmont, produced by pick and machine more than sixteen million tons. Thirteen thousand miners were employed in pick

⁵⁴ *Ohio Agr. Rep., 1857*, 500-1.

⁵⁵ *Ohio Labor Statistics, 1880*, 13.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1891, 22-4.

mining and about six thousand in machine mining. The total capital invested was almost thirteen and a half million dollars. The average daily wage was \$2.35 and the average yearly income amounted to \$486.45.⁵⁸

No longer did muscle and pick exclusively bring down the coal, and the patient, but perverse, mule haul it to the surface; no longer could two thousand dollars or less open a mine as it had during the eighteen-seventies; and no longer were mines unregulated by legislative enactments. By the turn of the century the best type of electrical machinery was in use, shots were fired by electric charges; dummy engines and cars hauled coal to the surface; and complicated apparatus ventilated and aired shafts.⁵⁹

With production increasing, improved mining conditions were the result of legislation. In 1872, Ohio passed its first mining law, but the act charged no one with its enforcement. Two years later, the legislature passed another law covering the points included in the first and providing for the appointment of a State mine inspector. In 1884, the act was amended to make statistical returns mandatory; provided for a chief inspector; divided the State into three districts in charge of deputy inspectors; and legislated for proper ventilation and for human safety. This legislation was misunderstood by both miners and owners. Miners felt it a club to be held over the heads of owners, and proprietors felt it an invasion of their property rights. Inspectors attempted to be impartial. The task was tremendous.⁶⁰

Despite legislation and increasing demand for coal, Ohio miners constantly were in difficulty with operators. Labor disputes, wage differences and strikes all combined to make the industry a perilous one. Perhaps no one Ohio industry has had as consistent a history of labor-owner friction as has mining. Various explanations have been offered. One mine inspector laid labor trouble to poor ventilation. "The mine owner," he said, "who attempts to economize by withholding from his workmen underground the pure, sweet atmos-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1901, 448-9.

⁵⁹ Thomas B. Bancroft, "Growth and Progress of the Coal Mining Industry," *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1901, 291-5.

⁶⁰ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1883, II, 1311-12.

pHERE of heaven, soon finds himself confronted with fretful and quarrelsome employees, whose fanciful wrongs assume the gigantic proportions, and there will be no peace until the fundamental cause of the trouble is removed—the bad air of the mines." Governor Allen mentioned inadequate ventilation and safety precautions in his annual message in 1876.⁶¹

The real reasons, however, for strikes and labor disputes in the mining industry were more fundamental. There is no doubt that poor ventilation was a contributing cause, as were the large number of underground accidents. In 1873, there was one accident for every 146,867 tons and a death for each 133,677 tons. Over two hundred and fifty men were killed and almost seven hundred injured.⁶² A single accident, of course, might involve several workers. Another cause of unrest was the seasonable nature of the work. Miners labored only part of a year. Some lost as much as twenty weeks' work, others as little as ten weeks.⁶³ No miner, however, could count on steady employment throughout the year and a persistent thorn in the economic flesh was the low wage scale. Trappers and slack haulers bitterly resented working a long day for less than two dollars.⁶⁴ Then, too, the attitude of mine operators frequently was callous and mean-minded. Miners themselves were tough and decidedly individualistic. They resented the high prices charged by companies for supplies furnished by them. For example, in Athens County, a miner paid \$2.25 for a keg of powder, sixty cents for a gallon of oil for his lamp, and seventy-five cents per month for tool sharpening.⁶⁵ The company store system was considered an abuse.

Factors such as these resulted in strikes. In 1878, eleven mines were facing demands made by striking workers. In the main, the men asked for wage advances, improvements in working conditions and assurance of proper weighing of the coal mined. In Jackson County, workers protested the system of being paid partly in cash

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1875, I, 10.

⁶² *Ibid.*, II, 801.

⁶³ *Ohio Stat.*, 1883, 815.

⁶⁴ *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1901, 368-9.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1891, 42.

and partly in goods from the company store.⁶⁶ The great strike, however, occurred in 1884 in the Hocking Valley district. An excess of coal was on hand and miners were working about half time. Operators reduced wages and discharged workers. Violence resulted and two valuable mine hoppers, a railway tunnel and three bridges were burned, seven mines were fired, and armed attacks were made upon guards employed by operators. Governor Hoadly ordered four companies of the Ohio National Guard to preserve peace and protect property. "A personal visit to the valley, early in September," he said, "convinced me that the use of a small military force might avert without bloodshed or much expense an apprehended collision."⁶⁷ Troops were withdrawn from the area in October, the Adjutant-General reporting no further need for them.⁶⁸ The State inspector of mines proposed the creation of a joint committee of miners and operators to settle their differences, but no satisfactory adjustment was made, and the area finally returned to its previous method of individual bargaining.⁶⁹ Strikes continued in the industry past the turn of the century. In 1901, nine counties had twenty-one strikes with an average duration of twenty-one days. Business organizations and boards of trade sought to guide the progress of Buckeye economic development.

The Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, organized in 1839, was typical of many other similar business and financial organizations which increased in number rapidly after the Civil War and before the close of the century. Purposes of such associations where found throughout the State were simple, but of immense value to commercial interests. Information pertaining to industrial affairs was sought and an attempt was made to secure uniformity of commercial laws and customs. In addition, chambers of commerce attempted to facilitate business intercourse and to promote equitable trade practices.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1878, 55-6.

⁶⁷ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1884, I, 13.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 252.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 1336-37.

⁷⁰ Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Exchange, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (Cincinnati, 1885), 23.

A Board of Trade had been organized in Cleveland in 1848, but lapsed until 1866 when it was revived with a membership of twenty who met daily for the discussion of the Forest City's financial problems.⁷¹ The Ohio State Board of Commerce was organized in Cleveland in 1893.

Similar associations were formed by smaller industrial and manufacturing groups that wished to develop their own economic interests. The Cincinnati Furniture Exchange, for example, was founded in 1877.⁷² In Akron, six banks organized the Akron Clearing House Association in 1893 when daily clearings in that city were about fifty thousand dollars.⁷³ Toledo's Board of Trade was first established in 1849 and went through successive reorganizations until the sixties when a permanent body was established. The city also had a well-organized Produce Exchange in 1876.⁷⁴ Practically every Ohio city of consequence had similar groups by 1890.

Growth of commercial exchanges, as they were called frequently before the advent of a more sophisticated era, only reflected a tremendous increase both in business interest and business development. The thirty years prior to 1900 witnessed a huge expansion not only of firms already doing business, but also in the number of new industries. This trend was clearly apparent in Cincinnati, the key industrial and financial city of the State, during the seventies. Pork packers were handling about 570,000 pounds a week early in 1877, and the leaf tobacco trade had done more than three and a half million dollars worth of business the previous year.⁷⁵ Other active Queen City concerns during this period were the Union Central Life Insurance Company, the Deposit and Benefit Society and the Cincinnati Coffin Company which had increased its capital stock to \$175,000.⁷⁶ A further key to business prosperity, of course, was the rapid turnover of real estate.⁷⁷ Building and loan associations were

⁷¹ Samuel P. Orth, *History of Cleveland* (Chicago, 1910), I, 656.

⁷² *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 16, 1877.

⁷³ Historical Committee, *Centennial History of Akron* (Akron, 1925), 437.

⁷⁴ Waggoner, ed., *History of the City of Toledo*, 474-6.

⁷⁵ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Jan. 5, 6, 1877.

⁷⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 16, 1877; *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 17, 1877.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

underwriting in Cleveland and elsewhere construction of private dwellings and, in some cases, of store buildings.⁷⁸

Despite periodic business dislocations, poor crops, low water levels on the Ohio River and constant competition by other communities, Cincinnati industries steadily forged ahead. By 1888 it was claimed that the industrial forces of the city were never better marshaled and that each year Queen City manufactured goods were covering wider national territories and slowly were penetrating the foreign market. Although the day of large profits was said to have disappeared, nevertheless compensation was to be found in larger production, more economical administration, and cheaper processes. The aggregate value of shipments of commodities from Cincinnati in 1870 was \$193,517,690 and in 1880 was \$253,827,267.⁷⁹ The increase represented practically every line of business activity.

That Cincinnati, despite the Panic of 1873, was a boom city on a small scale was not to be doubted. The decade between 1870 and 1880 was fraught with tremendous advancements. The number of Cincinnati's manufactories in 1880 was 5,450; the cash capital invested in them was \$67,651,552, an increase of \$15,977,811; the value of real estate occupied was \$40,096,458, an increase of \$2,972,339; the number of hands employed was 80,839; the value of production, \$163,351,497. The number of laborers employed in 1880 was 21,012 more than in 1870, and the value of the products had increased \$35,892,476. Grain receipts had increased 170% over those of 1870, and shipments of grain had increased 290%. More than twenty million gallons of beer were brewed.⁸⁰ Cincinnati, for years, had prided itself upon being one of the greatest provision centers of the Nation, and this claim was fully justified during the seventies and eighties.⁸¹

Ohio, like the Nation, experienced in 1899 an exceptional revival and expansion of industrial operations with remarkable

⁷⁸ Cleveland *Leader*, June 5, 1875.

⁷⁹ Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Exchange, *Fortieth Annual Report* (Cincinnati, 1889), 64, 75.

⁸⁰ Andrew Morrison, *The Industries of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1886), 42.

⁸¹ Moses King, *King's Pocket-Book of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1879), 67-8.

changes in prices of important commodities, including iron products. Cleveland particularly enjoyed a season of prosperity when the iron industry boomed. In general, the national economic picture which was reflected in the State's prosperity was due to a widening distribution of American manufactures in markets of other countries and a continuance of the expansion of foreign trade. Bank clearings of the country increased thirty-six per cent over 1898, business failures were reduced, and railroad gross earnings went up about ten per cent. In Cincinnati and elsewhere, retail sales increased all the way from eight per cent on carriages to fifty-four per cent on wool.⁸²

Closely allied with the persistent, if not continuous, expansion of Ohio commercial and industrial interests, was the mushroom growth of railroads. The "enormous increase" of railway construction, indeed, was a national trend after the Civil War.⁸³ Not only did tycoons like Gould and Vanderbilt manipulate transportation stock, but scores of lesser capitalists considered railroad securities gilt-edge investments. What a few did on a large scale, many attempted on a smaller. Within three years after the Hocking Valley coal region was fairly assured of having a railway outlet to the manufacturing centers of Ohio, eleven furnaces either were in operation or under construction.⁸⁴ So impressed were Cleveland business interests with the profits in railroad securities that they noted with intense interest a net earning of \$135,953 in 1874 of the Cleveland, Mount Vernon, and Delaware Railroad.⁸⁵ The prevailing impression in many minds was that if one road could declare dividends, others could also.

Railroad financiers used a stock argument which frequently fleeced investors and which sometimes actually paid them dividends. The reasoning appeared elementary: if omnibus lines running be-

⁸² Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Exchange, *Fifty-First Annual Report* (Cincinnati, 1900), 53-5.

⁸³ William S. Kennedy, *Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway* (Chicago, 1884), 244.

⁸⁴ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 2, 1878.

⁸⁵ Cleveland *Leader*, Mar. 19, 1875.

tween two cities were crowded daily with passengers, a railroad line running between the same points would be cheaper, more convenient, and of more value to farmer and manufacturer as it would haul freight.⁸⁶ Railroad earnings were brought before the investing public in a tantalizing fashion.⁸⁷ Other roads used the argument that they would tap country but indifferently supplied with rails and would be among the first to haul iron ores, building stone and manufactured goods.⁸⁸ Profits were implied. The Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad took pleasure in telling its security holders that it had entered "upon a career of usefulness to the commerce and industry of the country, and of legitimate enrichment to itself."⁸⁹ This pious sentiment was signed by Pliny Fisk and William B. Hatch, who recommended their seven-per-cent bonds and their six-per-cent bonds. Baltimore and Ohio railway literature showed consistent increases over previous years.⁹⁰ When, at the close of the century, gross earnings actually had increased about ten per cent, many investors were convinced without further argument.⁹¹

Cincinnati investors, of course, were particularly interested in the Cincinnati Southern Railroad which ran a distance of 336 miles from the Queen City to Chattanooga, tapping the perishable fruit market of the South and furnishing the most direct outlet for minerals, timber, cotton, sugar, molasses and rice. A connection with the Texas Pacific gave direct communication to the Pacific Coast. In 1884, the gross earnings of the through line were \$2,648,365 and the operating expenses were \$1,799,092. It employed 2,232 persons, carried 629,978 passengers, 864,108 tons of through freight and about five hundred thousand tons of local freight.⁹² Although the

⁸⁶ Cincinnati and Dayton Rail Road Company, *First Report* (Cincinnati, 1852), 3.

⁸⁷ Henry M. Flint, *Railroads of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1868), 31.

⁸⁸ Cincinnati and Terre Haute Railway Company, *Prospectus* (New York, 1871), *passim*.

⁸⁹ Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, *The Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad: Its Advantages as a Through Passenger and Freight Route between the Seaboard and the West...* (New York, 1873), 68.

⁹⁰ Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, *Fifty-Fourth Annual Report* (Baltimore, 1880), 3.

⁹¹ Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, *Fifty-First Annual Report*, 103.

⁹² Morrison, *The Industries of Cincinnati*, 71.

Southern was a Cincinnati enterprise, owned by the city, Cleveland also benefited when it was built. At that time the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company was awarded the largest contract for iron ever given a Forest City firm. Eleven thousand tons of steel rails were ordered at a cost of \$76.75 a ton, and 12,500 tons of iron rails at \$52.75 a ton. The total contract amounted to about a million and a half dollars.⁹³ Steel mills over the Nation, of course, could not help but profit by railroad expansion. During a twelve-month period ending in May, 1881, 6,113 miles of track were reported constructed and 14,277 miles projected in the United States.⁹⁴

Another fruitful field for the careful investor was insurance. Many Ohio capitalists were connected in one capacity or another with both the larger and lesser-known insurance companies doing business in the State. In Cleveland, the Anchor Life Insurance Company of New Jersey assumed unusual importance in 1870 when it announced that it could invest in any locality and upon any tangible and reliable security.⁹⁵ Frequently, racial groups established their own insurance organizations such as the Allemania in the Forest City whose directors were all Germans.⁹⁶ The Hibernia Insurance Company catered to the Irish population.⁹⁷

In 1881, about fourteen major companies were doing business in Cincinnati with assets of some three million dollars. Among these were the Amazon, Cincinnati, Farmers', Firemen's, Germania, Globe, National and Western companies. Of the fourteen, ten were doing an inland navigation business, insuring steamboat hulls and their cargoes. In this class the rate of aggregate losses to aggregate premiums was 60.44 per cent. The average rate of losses for all types of coverage for Cincinnati companies was 103.9 per cent, while for other Ohio companies it was 97 per cent and for all New York companies it was 93.6 per cent. The rate of premiums, thought Cincinnati insurance men, was far too low and would have to be

⁹³ *Cleveland Leader*, Feb. 13, 1875.

⁹⁴ *New York Daily Commercial Bulletin*, May 20, 1881.

⁹⁵ *Cleveland Leader*, Dec. 6, 1870.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar. 14, 1870.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1875.

increased, especially in light of the tremendous losses by fire which were occurring in 1881.⁹⁸

So serious, indeed, was loss by fire in 1881 that the president of the Chamber of Commerce, Samuel F. Covington, horrified by the largest conflagration that Cincinnati had experienced when a million and a half dollars of property was destroyed, suggested that manufacturing establishments be better constructed if they wished to insure themselves.⁹⁹ The fire which apparently began in the Marqua toy factory destroyed buildings and property from Water Street to Second Street and from the tenement district along the railroad tracks near Smith Street to the extensive lumber yards facing Rose Street.¹⁰⁰ More than thirty insurance companies including the Home of Columbus, the Van Wert of Fremont, the Allen County of Lima, the Ohio of Dayton, the Canton of Canton, the Eagle of Mt. Vernon, and the Mutual of Cincinnati, received claims after the blaze.

By 1885, in view of the increased fire losses throughout the Nation, it was said that fire underwriting was more nearly a gratuity to the average property owner than anything else in the line of benevolence.¹⁰¹ Insurance companies anxiously awaited fire-fighting equipment which could cut heavy property losses. Underwriters, for example, were able to reduce rates as much as twenty-five per cent when factories installed the Barnes Automatic Extinguisher.¹⁰² Ohio underwriters became so upset over the increasing number of fires that they spoke in terms of fire "epidemics" rather than of isolated blazes.¹⁰³ Fires in New York and Chicago were apt to affect Buckeye insurance companies as much as conflagrations in the State itself, for many local companies did business outside of Ohio.¹⁰⁴

Ohio insurance managers witnessed one disastrous blaze after another throughout the Nation during the eighties, saw the value of

⁹⁸ *Cincinnati Price-Current and Commercial Review*, Mar. 10, 1881.

⁹⁹ *Cincinnati Commercial*, July 22, 1881.

¹⁰⁰ *Cincinnati Gazette*, July 8, 1881.

¹⁰¹ *New York Daily Commercial Bulletin*, Aug. 25, 1885.

¹⁰² *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, July 31, 1880.

¹⁰³ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Feb. 8, 1885.

¹⁰⁴ *Chicago Evening Journal*, Mar. 3, 1885; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, May 9, 1885.

fire insurance stocks fluctuate nervously, and witnessed an unusually high payment on losses.¹⁰⁵ Realizing that if their companies were to enjoy prosperous business, they would have to aid in the prevention of fires, they began a program of education. In Ohio, insurance executives noted the organization and work of other fire departments, suggested the use of insurance patrols, and issued flaming red bulletins showing the ordinary causes of fire.¹⁰⁶ In addition, they issued, as did the Underwriters Association of Cincinnati, printed rate schedules for various types of industrial concerns. A furniture factory, for example, was to be constructed of brick or stone, not over three stories high, with a metal, slate, or cement roof, and must not maintain a dry-kiln in the main building. Inspection departments of the Underwriters Associations were created and reports on buildings made with regularity. An inspection of 2,147 structures revealed that 732 were in bad order and were fire menaces.¹⁰⁷ That such action was necessary was revealed by the figures of the Northwestern National Insurance Company of Milwaukee which paid almost forty thousand dollars of losses in Cincinnati between 1871 and 1887. Other State and national companies, of course, paid in proportion. Insurance adjusters were quite willing to recommend, therefore, that Ohio cities follow the fire-alarm system of New Orleans even though the annual expense of operation of a modern telegraphic hookup amounted to ten thousand dollars.¹⁰⁸

Incendiarism, the major cause of fire losses in Ohio and elsewhere during the eighties, was fought with vigor.¹⁰⁹ One hundred and sixty-four fire and fire-marine insurance companies in Ohio in 1866 were vitally concerned with this problem for they needed increased insurance capital if they were to remain in business.¹¹⁰ Their losses had

¹⁰⁵ New York *Journal of Commerce*, Feb. 5, 1885.

¹⁰⁶ Boston *Herald*, Sept. 27, 1885; New York *Daily Commercial Bulletin*, Dec. 12, 1884.

¹⁰⁷ Underwriters' Association of Cincinnati, *Report of the Inspection Department (Cincinnati, 1886)*, 4, 5.

¹⁰⁸ New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, July 31, 1887.

¹⁰⁹ "How Shall We Check Incendiarism?" *The Business Observer* (Cincinnati), I (1883), 162.

¹¹⁰ "Ohio Fire Insurance Report," *The Weekly Underwriter* (New York), XXXIV (1886), 194-5.

been heavy. Between 1876 and 1880 fire losses in the State amounted to \$6,978,240, and between 1881 and 1885, losses totaled \$13,003,720. "The public at large," lamented an insurance editor, "are more deeply concerned than the underwriters in the reduction of the fire waste."¹¹¹ This same writer also pointed out that the public offered little constructive aid not only in reducing their losses by fire, but also in decreasing their fire insurance rates. Insurance experts were scornful of the many claims made by owners that their buildings were absolutely fireproof and pointed to the Stillman House fire in Cleveland that routed hotel guests who believed they were in a perfectly safe structure.¹¹²

By 1892, although the number of disastrous fires in Ohio had decreased somewhat in certain localities, the Superintendent of Insurance spoke of the tremendous and increasing annual destruction of property by fire. Fire insurance companies throughout the State, therefore, were in an unsatisfactory condition, but the Superintendent assigned additional reasons for their plight which included "an unhealthy and feverish competition, an inordinate eagerness for volume of business without regard to its class or character, involving inadequate rates, insufficient inspection of risks, and various other departures from the principles of insurance."¹¹³ Not until after 1900 could businessmen of Ohio feel assured that their property was adequately protected from fire by modern apparatus and by well-organized and properly conducted fire insurance companies.

Ohio businessmen, like those elsewhere throughout the country, had recognized by 1888 certain distinct trends in the national economy. Although they believed that America should be the land of promise for countless thousands of foreigners, they also saw that the United States had become the dumping-ground for the unemployed hordes of Europe and the "vagrant life" of Asia. They witnessed about one-fourth of the population of the Nation living in cities, and they were aware of the tremendous advance in the number of

¹¹¹ "The Fire Waste," *Baltimore Underwriter* (Baltimore), XXXIII (1885), 176.

¹¹² *Insurance* (New York), III (1885), 215.

¹¹³ Ohio Superintendent of Insurance, *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report* (Columbus, 1892), I, 7.

manufacturing establishments. A speaker at the National Board of Trade meeting in Chicago pointed out that although there were only 105,697 manufacturing plants in 1830, the figure had jumped to 251,104 in 1880. Yet he said that much the same type of machinery was being used in 1880 as was in vogue fifty years earlier. "We are attempting to harness the Railway Age," he said, "in the toggery of the farm-wagon or the cart."

Industrialists felt that the great business interests of the United States had exhibited no centralizing tendencies except those of selfishness and greed. Public welfare, they maintained, would be conserved only by a public scrutiny of trusts, pools and corners. They felt that the principle of *laissez-faire* became weak when left to operate exclusively in expanding industry. Ohio business and industry was a part of this rapid development, and the economic problems of the Nation were equally those of the State.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ National Board of Trade, *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting* (Boston, 1889), 23, 24, 25, 27.

CHAPTER VIII

The Rise of the City

TRAVELERS and visitors to Ohio's great urban centers sometimes felt that the State itself was a nation and could exist with a wall around it. The magic of the city was exerting itself even in 1873 when the bulk of the Buckeye population was living a simple, rural life devoted to agriculture. Cities were the stronghold not only of art and refinement, but also of crime and vice. Pickpockets were declared a metropolitan "institution" in 1869.¹ Still the city mushroomed.

"As long ago as the first visit of Charles Dickens to this country," wrote Charles Dudley Warner of Cincinnati after a tour of the West, "it was distinguished as a town of refinement as well as cultivation."² When Warner visited Columbus he was surprised to find not a rural capital, pleasant and slow, but a city of eighty thousand people, with miles of prosperous business blocks, and wide, tree-shaded Broad Street which he described glowingly as one of the handsomest avenues in the country.³

Still another traveler through Buckeyeland saw Cleveland as "at once a long-distance mining camp, a long-range coal pit, and a gigantic smithy, where ore is heaped in brown hillocks and coal piled up by millions of tons." As he threaded his way through a thriving, humming community, he said that it left "a confused impression of ringing hammers, the heavy smell of the moulding room, the swing of cranes, the hot breath of furnaces, the red gush of molten metal—sensations vivid, extreme, bizarre. Here they are turning out agricultural implements; yonder a horse goes round a windlass, drawing an immense scarlet boiler through the street; and see! by the bank

¹ George E. Stevens, *The City of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1869), 202.

² Charles D. Warner, "Studies of the Great West," *Harper's Magazine* (New York), LXXVII (1888), 429, 459.

³ *Ibid.*, 264-5, 458.

of the yellow Cuyahoga they are launching a great steel ship—launching her sidewise—and the splash goes up like the surf in a hurricane.”⁴

Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Toledo and scores of smaller communities were feeling the growing pains of modernity after the Civil War. Business and industry were exerting the irresistible magnetism that attracted laborers, artisans, artists, professional men and farm youths. By 1880, Cincinnati had a population of more than two hundred thousand persons, Cleveland was a city of one hundred sixty thousand, and Columbus boasted of its fifty thousand. Cincinnati residents, passionately loyal to their Queen City, felt the threat of the growing lake community which predicted confidently in 1884 that within five years Cleveland's population would exceed that of any other Ohio city.⁵ A period longer than five years, however, was to elapse before this hope was fulfilled. The astonishing growth of Cleveland began in 1840 when Cincinnati had stood sixth in size among American cities and Cleveland forty-fifth. Forty years later Cincinnati had fallen to seventh in population and Cleveland had climbed from forty-fifth to eleventh. In 1890, the Queen City had moved to eighth place, and Cleveland had advanced to ninth. By the turn of the century there was no doubt but that Ohio's southern city was to fall before the population advance of industrial and commercial Cleveland. On Lake Erie men were looking not into the past as they seemed to be in Cincinnati, but were probing the future.⁶

For years, however, the Queen City held undisputed sway. Situated on the north bank of the Ohio River, the community extended along the shores for miles. Almost directly opposite Cincinnati was the mouth of the Licking River. In addition to tapping the trade and commerce of the Miami Valley, a particularly prosperous and fertile region, Cincinnati was also advantageously located in that it was about midway by river between Pittsburgh and Cairo.

⁴ Rollin L. Hartt, “The Ohioans,” *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), LXXXIV (1899), 505, 681.

⁵ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Dec. 31, 1884.

⁶ James Wallen, *Cleveland's Golden Story* (Cleveland, 1920), 108.

Perched secure upon its seven hills, Cincinnati gazed with serenity across the river to the Kentucky hills. It was a city, said Hoadly, "fair to the sight, with a healthy public spirit, and high intelligence, sound to the core; a city with pure water to drink, pure air to breathe, spacious public grounds, wide avenues; a city not merely of much traffic, but of beautiful homes; a city of manufactures, wherein is made every product of art—the needle-gun, the steam-engine, the man of learning, the woman of accomplishments; a city of resort for the money-profits of its dealings, and the mental and spiritual profit of its culture—the Edinburgh of a new Scotland, the Boston of a new New England, the Paris of a new France."⁷

Although other Ohio cities, Hamilton, Columbus, Canton, Toledo, Sandusky and Akron, were developing during the period from 1873 until the turn of the century, none compared with the vigor and strength of Cleveland and Cincinnati. In these two urban strongholds one witnessed both the glory and the shame. Activities in smaller cities existed only to a lesser degree. Not until after 1900, in many cases, did the minor cities of Ohio have as rich a life as had been lived in Cleveland and Cincinnati for years. Yet many Ohio towns came of age in the thirty years prior to the turn of the century.

In both small community and mighty city lived foreign populations drawn to Ohio by golden opportunities for jobs and a standard of living probably denied them in the land of their birth. In 1880, Ohio's total population numbered 3,198,239 persons. Of these 394,743 were foreign born.⁸ Ten years earlier James A. Garfield pointed out that about 13.98 per cent of the State's total population of 2,665,260 was foreign born and that 27.45 per cent was foreign born or of foreign-born parents. More than ninety-six per cent of all the foreign contributions to Ohio were from English and German-speaking people. Other peoples represented included Africans, Danes, Greeks, Dutchmen, Poles, Russians and West Indians.⁹ Prob-

⁷ Charles T. Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati* (Chicago, 1904), I, 18.

⁸ *Ohio Stat.*, 1880, 428.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1871, 146-8.

ably the Irish and the Germans influenced Ohio culture and city life as much, if not more, than did any other immigrant group.

Long before the Civil War, Irish laborers, known as Longfords and Corkonians, worked on Ohio's canals for thirty cents a day, board, lodging and a jigger of whiskey.¹⁰ Boys from Cork filtered into cities like Cincinnati and Cleveland to work as pick-and-shovel men, to live, in many instances, in filthy tenements, and to cling faithfully to the Roman Catholic faith. They made a reputation for themselves as hard drinkers and ugly fighters. Upon one occasion an Irishman was evicted from a circus tent at Somerset, Ohio, for smoking his pipe during a performance. The action provoked a brawl in which Irish railroad laborers fought all day and night and was terminated only when a company of militia arrived from Zanesville.¹¹ The Hocking Valley Railroad was built in part by Irishmen. In Cincinnati and elsewhere throughout the State, Irishmen joined the Ancient Order of Hibernians, paraded on St. Patrick's Day and entered politics. No better example of the importance of the Irish vote can be found than in the presidential campaign between Blaine and Cleveland in 1884. At that time both parties were courting some half a million Irish votes. Most of these were in city districts. Irish leaders and the Irish press, including *The Irish World* and *The Irish Nation*, were supporting Blaine. Only an unfortunate slogan, "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," helped turn the Irish vote against Blaine. Roman Catholics considered the remark an affront and expressed their displeasure at the polls.¹² This slip of the tongue influenced the Erin vote in Ohio as elsewhere.

The Irish, indeed, left their mark upon the Buckeye State. A section of Cleveland was known for years as Irishtown.¹³ Immigrants gave Cleveland's racial districts a variety of colorful names. "Shanty Town" extended along West 12th Street to the lake and bordered the river; "The Triangle," "The Flats" and "Vinegar Hill" were

¹⁰ Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York, 1939), 137.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹² Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City* (New York, 1933), 400.

¹³ Archer H. Shaw, *The Plain Dealer* (New York, 1942), 172.

primarily Irish abodes; and the "Haymarket," said to be the most congested of the early districts, was located just south of the Public Square and was populated with a heterogeneous group of Italians, Jews and Negroes. The downtown Bohemian district was called the "Cabbage Patch" and another Bohemian colony was referred to as "Little Cuba." A tenement district near East 34th Street took the name of "Little Poland," and a mixed foreign settlement on the west side of the "Flats" received the picturesque title of "Goosetown" because residents raised about as many geese as children and both paddled in the filth of unpaved streets. "Dutch Hill" was tenanted by a mixture of Germans and Hollanders. The Chinese district was called "Dopetown."¹⁴ It was said that when police were summoned to "Whisky Island," a settlement of Irish, the horses of patrol wagons headed that way unless otherwise directed.

Rutherford B. Hayes remembered a fine Irish relief supper at Lower Sandusky.¹⁵ The comic, political philosophy of Finley Peter Dunne ("Mr. Dooley"), written in Irish dialect, was read by hundreds of Ohioans and remembered with particular relish by Brand Whitlock who also recalled carts driven from Lighttown by Irishmen smoking short clay pipes.¹⁶ A Cleveland newspaper reporter saw squalid Irish cottages along the shores of Lake Erie and east and west of the river.¹⁷ Frederic C. Howe, Cleveland reformer, understood the Irish character. He said they were practical politicians, kindly, tolerant and good companions, who took graft and gave it. They "played ball" with saloonkeepers, prostitutes, contractors and "Big Business."¹⁸ As early as 1854 St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church had been established to accommodate the large number of Irish Catholics living west of the Cuyahoga River. Four years later St. Bridget's parish was built on Perry Street.¹⁹ In Akron,

¹⁴ Wellington G. Fordyce, "Immigrant Colonies in Cleveland," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XL (1936), 333-6.

¹⁵ Charles E. Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Columbus, 1926), I, 199.

¹⁶ Brand Whitlock, *Forty Years of It* (New York, 1914), 4.

¹⁷ Charles E. Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1925), 55.

¹⁸ Frederic C. Howe, *The Confessions of a Reformer* (New York, 1926), 58-9.

¹⁹ Samuel P. Orth, *A History of Cleveland* (Chicago, 1910), I, 370.

the Irish influence was felt when in 1866 the church of St. Vincent de Paul was dedicated on St. Patrick's Day.²⁰ By 1870 more than eighty-two thousand Irishmen in Ohio, most of them Catholic, were attending Mass in similar edifices.²¹ Immigrants were welcomed in Cleveland by relatives, friends, or a henchman of a local political boss who early attempted to swing the new arrival into the orbit of a well-established and smoothly functioning political machine.²²

The Irish population of Lucas County in 1880 was numbered at 3,284 and was described as from the first interested in "all departments of usefulness."²³ In other counties and cities the men from Erin were not always described in laudatory terms. When Cincinnati police, for example, raided a disorderly house kept by Andy Laughlin among those booked was Maggie Riley.²⁴ Police court dockets frequently found typically Irish names written into the record. Their main offenses were drunkenness—plain and fancy—and fighting. In the main, however, Ohio Irishmen did more than imbibe at weddings and wakes, parade the streets, and curse and fight. They were a sentimental folk who looked after their own.

In 1879 when a famine swept over Ireland an Irish relief association was formed in Cincinnati to raise money. A public meeting was held at Robinson's Opera House to solicit funds for the needy. Sponsored by such prominent Irish leaders of Cincinnati as John O'Meara, M. J. Ryan, John Regan, J. P. Murphy and Thomas J. Geoghegan the Irish Aid Society authorized sufferers in the old country to draw on them for a ton of meat.²⁵ The sentiment of the society was expressed by Father Robert F. Doyle, pastor of St. Edward's Church. "Poor, dear old Ireland," wrote this priest, "home of my childhood, how long will thy wailing last? I can not help thee as I would, I can not remove the cause of thy misery, but I will

²⁰ Akron Historical Committee, *A Centennial History of Akron* (Akron, 1925), 285.

²¹ *Ohio Stat.*, 1871, 148.

²² Wellington G. Fordyce, "Nationality Groups in Cleveland Politics," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVI (1937), 109.

²³ Clark Waggoner, ed., *History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County* (New York, 1888), 741.

²⁴ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Aug. 3, 1877.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1879.

remember thee in thy sorrow at the altar of God, and I will continue to pray for the day of thy political and religious liberty.”²⁶

Upon occasion the Irish-American living in Ohio resented the universal assumption that his vote was wedded to the Democratic party. “Why should we,” bitterly inquired a Cincinnati Irishman, “be hewers of wood or drawers of water for the Democratic party?”²⁷ After living in the Queen City for thirty years this son of Erin complained that when he asked a Republican for a favor, he had a chance of securing it, but if he asked a Democrat “he will refer me to somebody else, and that is about the last of it.” Let the Irish be as independent in their political affiliations, he urged, as are the Germans of the city.

When Irishmen, forgetting their small pay envelopes and ignoring attempts of city bosses to pull them from one polling place to another, gathered together over a glass of whiskey in the intimacy of their favorite saloon they were apt to lift their voices in songs as typically native as those of the Germans. They harmonized beautifully.

“I sing about Thady O’Foy,
Who married one Molly Molloy;
For better or worse,
Some say for her purse,
For a long one had Molly, Molloy, Molloy,
‘Och, Thady,’ sighed she, ‘your’re [sic] my joy.’”

Another favorite sung for years when the longing for the old sod came upon the immigrant was “The Ladies’ Darling” sung to the rollicking tune of “Garry Owen.”

“My father he lived in Limerick town,
That sweet little place of great renown,
Which mirth and beauty call their own,
It is so gay and frisky.
My father was digging potatoes so sweet,

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1879.

My mother was sitting down to knit,
When I was born, and cronies did meet
To drink my health in whiskey."

Still another favorite, sung during the roaring forties and popular almost until the turn of the century, was "St. Patrick Was a Gentleman."²⁸

"Saint Patrick was a gentleman, and came of decent people,
He built a church in Dublin town, and upon it put a steeple;
His mother was a Callaghan, his father was a Brady,
His sister was an O'Huolihan, and his brother a O'Crady.

Noh! Noh! Noh!

Success attend St. Patrick's fist, for he's the decent saint, O,
He gave the bugs and toads a twist, he's a beauty without
paint O!"

By the turn of the century the Irish element in Ohio had long since relinquished the tin dinner pail and pick and shovel and had attained "that state of respectable mediocrity which is the foundation of American society."²⁹

Germans played as great, if not a greater, role during the period from 1873 until the turn of the century. Germans who came to Ohio were men of thrift and lovers of liberty.³⁰ Hayes in expressing himself on this subject declared that he did not feel that a vile and ignorant horde was arriving from Europe, but said that foreign-born Americans were more intense in their loyalty to their adopted country than natives.³¹ Beginning to emigrate from the Fatherland during the middle of the nineteenth century, more than 182,000 Germans were living in Ohio by 1870.³² They settled in the cities and in rural districts where their frugality, patience and thrift

²⁸ For a splendid collection of Irish songs sung in America see the anonymous *Song Book for the Million* (Philadelphia, [184?]), Part III, 38.

²⁹ Quoted in Witke, *We Who Built America*, 186.

³⁰ Bernard Peters, "The German Pioneers," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, II (1888-89), 62.

³¹ Curtis W. Garrison, ed., "Conversations with Hayes: A Biographer's Note," *M. V. H. Rev.* (Cedar Rapids), XXV (1938), 379.

³² *Ohio Stat.*, 1871, 148.

earned for them the respect of their neighbors. In Ohio urban communities the German element entered the economic life as bakers, tailors, merchants, tanners, brewers and manufacturers of jewelry, stoves, musical instruments, and, in some instances, farm machinery. By 1850 they had established strong German colonies in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton and other small Ohio communities. In the Queen City they concentrated in the famous "Over-the-Rhine" region, a district north and east of the old Miami Canal where tenement houses, neat homes, beer gardens, concert halls and breweries flourished. Their saengerfests and turnvereins expressed their musical and aesthetic tastes and their newspapers, such as the Cincinnati *Volksblatt* and the Cleveland *Waechter und Anzeiger*, made them feel at home in a new land. They were a *gemüthlich* people loving their stein, their long-stemmed pipes, their family musicals, their language papers and journals and their families.³³

Only rarely was the German disliked by his neighbors. He was apt, of course, to be ridiculed on the stage as a stupid Dutchman with no flair for the American tongue, but in actual life he got along pleasantly with all classes. Yet Hugo Munsterberg described him in terms of scorn. "The habits of this Prussian sauerkraut eater," wrote Munsterberg, "are well known. He goes shabbily dressed, never takes a bath, drinks beer at breakfast, plays skat, smokes a long pipe, wears spectacles, reads books from dirty loan libraries, is rude to the lower classes and slavishly servile to the higher, is innocent of the slightest attempt at good form in society."³⁴

Although another author insisted that one could study the true character of Cincinnati successfully through the bottom of an upturned beer glass, he also maintained that the German element gave the Queen City much of its idealism and musical heritage.³⁵ Indeed, the Cincinnati theater was stimulated by performances given in the German language by professional actors who came from the Father-

³³ For typical "Over-the-Rhine" news see Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 1, 1877, *et seq.*

³⁴ Hugo Munsterberg, "The Germans and the Americans," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXIV, 398.

³⁵ Charles D. Warner "Studies of the Great West," 130.

land to interpret the plays of Shakespeare.³⁶ In addition, Germans brought to Ohio cities brain, brawn and an appreciation of America that often exceeded that of natives.³⁷ So important, indeed, was the German element of the State that a German-language edition of a three-volume geological survey of Ohio was issued.³⁸ In Toledo and elsewhere Germans were establishing churches and schools where instruction was given in the native tongue, were publishing religious journals, were entering the professions of law and medicine, and were steadily building their own gymnastic, theatrical and social organizations.³⁹ The Schuetzen Verein offered opportunity for rifle practise, the Pioneer Verein invited old settlers to come together, and the Deutsche Arbeiterverein cared for the sick, buried the dead and extended relief when necessary.

In Akron a company of German Guards was organized in 1883 and was composed, it is said, of the most highly respected and patriotic citizens.⁴⁰ Dayton's Germans belonged to one or more of forty societies of many types, most of them connected with the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Central-Verein.⁴¹ Many of Dayton's businessmen had been born in Germany.⁴² This was equally true of other Ohio communities. The success of the enterprising German in a typical Ohio community is seen in the case of Peter Schwab, eleven-year-old boy, who arrived in the United States in 1850. Smart, industrious and saving, Schwab had enough money to purchase a brewery in 1874 in Hamilton. By 1890 he had enlarged the plant and had added an ice factory. Two years later he was counted among the successful and prosperous men of his community.⁴³

³⁶ Clara Longworth de Chambrun, *Cincinnati: Story of the Queen City* (New York, 1939), 253.

³⁷ Shaw, *The Plain Dealer*, 167.

³⁸ John B. Neil to Alexis Proctor, Columbus, Oct. 28, 1873, Executive Letter Book, 1871-1873 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 961.

³⁹ Waggoner, *History of the City of Toledo*, 743-6.

⁴⁰ Samuel A. Lane, *Fifty Years and Over of Akron and Summit County* (Akron, 1892), 443.

⁴¹ A. W. Drury, *History of the City of Dayton and Montgomery County* (Chicago, 1909), I, 500.

⁴² Frank Conover, ed., *Centennial . . . of the City of Dayton and of Montgomery County* (n.p., 1897), 224, 638 for example.

⁴³ D. W. McClung, ed., *Centennial Anniversary of the City of Hamilton, Ohio* (Hamilton, 1892), 267-9.

In the main, Ohio Germans supported the Republican cause. Carl Schurz, able German-American politician, kept his people in line with brilliant tact. Hayes also was able, from time to time, to swing the Teuton from Democratic to Republican standards.⁴⁴ In 1875, Hayes felt assured of the German vote in Cincinnati which he had cultivated for years.⁴⁵ When in the Queen City, Hayes would stop to have a *schoppen* and a half at John Roth's St. Nicholas garden.⁴⁶ Upon another occasion he visited a German orphanage.⁴⁷ In 1890, Hayes paid a fitting tribute to the German settlers and residents of Ohio. "During the larger part of my life," he said, "I have lived where the German element was large, and in the town and county of my home, German names and homes are to be seen in every direction. Would that all my countrymen could possess and enjoy their well-known and sterling virtues."⁴⁸

Ohio's German population played a prominent role, especially in Cincinnati, during the stirring days of temperance reform in the eighties when the Scott Law and proposed "dry" constitutional amendments threatened to close their beloved beer gardens. They gave their vote firmly to beer. In addition, they sponsored the arts, patronized the Cincinnati Music Festivals, and comported themselves as dignified citizens. In 1900, about forty thousand Germans were living in Cleveland and so great was the Teuton influence in Cincinnati that the very name of the city was a synonym for beer and Germans.

Other racial groups were drawn to Ohio by the State's immense economic progress before the turn of the century. In Cleveland, for example, forty-eight nationalities, speaking more than forty different languages, contributed the color of their cultures and the brawn of their arms. In 1880 the Lake Erie city had a foreign population of more than sixty-eight thousand representing English, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, German, French, Norwegian, Swedish, Swiss and

⁴⁴ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, IV, 449.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 277.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 113.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 167.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 610.

Bohemian peoples. By the next decade the metropolitan character of Cleveland's population was well established. Aliens were arriving from Mexico, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Russia, Hungary, Portugal, Greece, China, Japan and Turkey. So large, indeed, had the Bohemian element become that in 1905 they had representatives in public office, in every trade and profession and were supporting five Bohemian Catholic churches and schools and four Bohemian Protestant missions.

Croatians and Russians located on the south side of Cleveland near University Heights, and the Italians, nearly all of them from the province of Campo Basso, lived near Murray Hill and also close to Orange Street.⁴⁹ In 1914, it was said that one-third of Cleveland's population subscribed to the Roman Catholic faith and that most of the parishioners of this church were immigrants.⁵⁰ No Ohio city was to harbor a more polyglot population than Cleveland. Such a cross-section of the world flowing into Ohio municipalities and augmented by hundreds of thousands of native-born workers presented grave social problems.

Sometimes, though not frequently, Ohio immigrants were wanted by their home governments for crimes committed. Thus, in 1896, the Swiss government called upon Governor Bushnell to locate and apprehend, if possible, a Swiss charged with bigamy.⁵¹ During Foraker's governorship he had complaints from the German government that a Cincinnati German, Herman Marchworth, was posing as the German consul much to the disgust of the regularly appointed German consul of the Queen City.⁵²

The rapid growth of city life in Ohio during the thirty-year period, 1870 to 1900, reflected only a national trend. Indeed, James A. Garfield said that the accretion of people in urban communities was one of the most striking features of modern civilization and

⁴⁹ Orth, *A History of Cleveland*, I, 117-9.

⁵⁰ Wellington G. Fordyce, "Immigrant Institutions in Cleveland," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVII (1938), 87.

⁵¹ Asa S. Bushnell to Gov. Lloyd Lowndes, Columbus, Feb. 28, 1896, Executive Letter Book, 1895-1897, p. 48.

⁵² J. B. Foraker to Herman Marchworth, Columbus, July 5, 1887, *ibid.*, 1888-1889, pp. 57, 60, 61.

warned that in Ohio agricultural districts were suffering a constant drain of population to supply the growth of cities.⁵³

In Ohio, as elsewhere, urban population increased faster than good government and civic organizations could provide for housing, police and fire protection, and welfare work. So flagrant did political and social conditions become throughout the United States that reformers like Lincoln Steffens referred to the shame of Minneapolis, the shamelessness of St. Louis and to the corrupt and contented Philadelphia.⁵⁴ Upon one occasion Steffens traveled from Cleveland to Cincinnati just to see how unregenerate Americans lived.⁵⁵ In 1879, Cincinnati was declared to have a reputation for unparalleled immorality with variety shows, gin palaces and houses of prostitution running unchecked.⁵⁶ Both Tom Johnson and Brand Whitlock were baffled by the problem of maintaining order in Cleveland and Toledo, and Samuel M. Jones, another Toledo reformer, refused to permit officers to carry nightsticks and to prosecute street-walkers. Whitlock regarded filthy details gathered in the stews and slums of cities as the work of trained smut hunters and would have nothing to do with them.⁵⁷ In Cleveland, a young settlement-house worker said that the house was located on the edge of the red-light district.⁵⁸

When police cast their raiding nets they were apt to find a strange assortment of the urban underworld. Musicians, barkeepers, "country Jakes," questionable characters, "snap-catchers," "badgers" and ratty fellows were the catch of a Cincinnati raid sponsored by the Young Men's Christian Association. The prisoners presented a motley appearance, commented a reporter. "There were good-natured old blokes, with white beards or with bald heads and beards of dyed black; there were pretty girls and ugly girls, girls that had some sense of decency left in their composition, and brazen girls to whom

⁵³ *Ohio Stat., 1871*, 149-50.

⁵⁴ Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904), Table of Contents.

⁵⁵ *Id., Autobiography* (New York, 1931), 481.

⁵⁶ Dudley Ward Rhodes, *Creed and Greed* (Cincinnati, 1879), 96.

⁵⁷ Whitlock, *Forty Years of It*, 270.

⁵⁸ Howe, *Confessions of a Reformer*, 76.

decency was a farce. There were 'widders' fat and forty, but by no means fair; concert singers, professional dancing girls, and bloated bar-keepers."⁵⁹

Women, as well as men, tipped. Sometimes well-dressed young ladies, "brim full of whisky and fight," assaulted men, created disturbances and dispersed only when police whistles were blown. Seven of these "police court waifs" were convicted of intoxication at one sitting by a magistrate.⁶⁰ Sometimes police reporters wrote humorous copy as when one told of a "sweet gazelle" named Nellie Schwartz who was sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse for being an "Oneida Community" on a small scale.⁶¹ River fights were numerous. A knife in the hands of one George Oliver struck a rib of his opponent and later severed the jugular vein while both men were tussling waist-deep in the Ohio River.⁶² The Episcopal Church in 1870 urged the establishment of marine parishes in Sandusky, Cleveland and Ohio River towns in order to spread the gospel and cut the crime rate.⁶³ To thwart pickpockets, Ohioans were urged to install "Yankee Pockets" in their jackets when they visited cities for pleasure or on business. These theft-proof pockets locked with piston and burr and were advertised as a positive safeguard against the light-fingered profession.⁶⁴ As late as 1885, Governor Hoadly thought it better for a boy to remain in a reform school than "be exposed to the temptations and evils of life in Cincinnati."⁶⁵

Human dregs lived miserably in Ohio's tenement districts and outlying sections of cities. The "Flats" of Cleveland provoked their share of vice and crime as did the "Over-the-Rhine" region of the Queen City where, although the homes were clean, there was tremendous concentration of population in certain blocks. A famous tenement house of Cincinnati was Big Missouri, originally a spice

⁵⁹ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Aug. 3, 1877.

⁶⁰ Cleveland *Leader*, Nov. 14, Dec. 3, 5, 1870; Mar. 24, June 23, Aug. 16, 1875.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1875.

⁶² Geo. Hoadly to Morton S. Hawkins, Columbus, Dec. 1, 1884, Executive Letter Book, 1884-1885, p. 342.

⁶³ Oberlin *Standard of the Cross*, Feb. 5, 1870.

⁶⁴ Leffel's *Illustrated Miller's and Mechanical News* (Springfield, Ohio), Apr., 1875.

⁶⁵ George Hoadly to J. B. Foraker, Columbus, Feb. 4, 1885, Executive Letter Book, 1884-1885, p. 549.



18. THE LOT OF THE TENEMENT DWELLER

Harper's Weekly, Aug. 1, 1885.

mill, on Sycamore Street. Its ninety-five rooms housed three hundred tenants who paid from two to four dollars per month in rent. One hydrant supplied water for the entire group.⁶⁶ The most noted rendezvous for boatmen, tramps and petty criminals was known as the "Blazing Stump" and was located at Gilmore's Wharf on the Cincinnati public landing. There a man could buy a plate of soup for five cents, a cup of coffee with a half biscuit for a nickel and a night's lodging for fifteen cents. A row of buildings fronting on the Ohio River and reaching from Lawrence Street to Broadway was called "Rat Row." One of these structures contained thirty-four rooms which were rented with but little regard for vice regulations. Three bars and a dance hall were located on the ground floor.⁶⁷ Gambling houses were ranged along Fifth Street. One of the most notorious of these was the Sun Saloon.⁶⁸

Country boys coming to the city were warned in lurid terms to shun evil companions and commercialized amusements. The flowing bowl was described as a pathway to hell. Alcohol, warned countless temperance workers, was only a creator of disease, insanity and depravity.⁶⁹ It was the partner of pauperism and crime. The excitement of the women's temperance crusade in Ohio and the tremendous discussion evoked by the Scott Law give evidence of an aroused public opinion. So great was the opposition by certain groups to various forms of indoor sports that as late as the year 1919 a Toledo reformer attacked pool, billiards and bowling alleys as stimuli to depravity.⁷⁰

Abundant advice was offered youths wishing to try their fortunes in the city. "Bad companions are a source of danger," cautioned a widely read pocket volume of the forties. "A youthful profligate, of elegant manners, lively humour, amiable temper, and intelligent mind," continued the same author, "is Satan's most polished instru-

⁶⁶ Rhodes, *Creed and Greed*, 124.

⁶⁷ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Dec. 3, 1876.

⁶⁸ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Oct. 19, 1896.

⁶⁹ Henry W. Blair, *The Temperance Movement, or, the Conflict Between Man and Alcohol* (Boston, 1888), Chap. VI, IX.

⁷⁰ John J. Phelan, *Pool, Billiards, and Bowling Alleys . . . in Toledo* (Toledo, 1919), 17.



19. A CITY PITFALL OF VICE AND SIN
Covington Collection, Miami University Library.

ment for ruining immortal souls."⁷¹ Perhaps the pitfalls of the city were summed up as well in a popular song for a later period as anywhere. Dedicated to the boys of America, "Don't You Go, Tommy," tells of the old folks at home pleading with their only son to remain on the farm.

"We're feeble and old, your mother and me;
And kind to us both you ever should be,
To whiskey-shops, billiards, and cards bid adieu,
I beg of you, Tommy, don't go."⁷²

⁷¹ John A. James, *The Young Man from Home* (New York, 1840), 31, 32; Mason Long, *Save the Girls* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1882), Chap. VI.

⁷² Philip D. Jordan and Lillian Kessler, *Songs of Yesterday* (New York, 1941), 70-3.

The rural yokel, in many instances, became ensnared in all the traps set by city slickers. Time and again police reported that in raids they bagged farmers and market men who had been lured into dens, made drunk and robbed.⁷³ Petty criminals, armed with pistols, knives and brass knuckles, roamed Cincinnati streets during the seventies. Policemen, clad in the long-tailed, brass-buttoned blue coat and wearing the high helmet so typical in American cities as late as the nineties, were unskilled in scientific crime detection and relied primarily upon their oak or walnut batons. Police clubbing, as Steffens had learned, was an art which in the hands of a master could do wondrous things.⁷⁴ Patrol wagons, drawn by matched teams, clattered through cobblestone streets with brass gongs shattering the peace. In 1866, Cleveland had a patrolman for every thousand inhabitants. By 1872 the city on the lake had established seven precincts with station houses in five of them. In 1870, friends of the Cincinnati Police Department entertained the force at dinner, but while officers were gorging themselves, scions of the city's first families staggered maudlin through the streets after too many New Year's calls upon friends.⁷⁵ Horse equipment in Cleveland was not sufficient in 1875 to handle a rush of calls, so that frequently the police department hired three or four buggies at a time as auxiliary patrol wagons.⁷⁶ Residents soon became accustomed to seeing officers make emergency calls in almost any sort of vehicle.

The organization of a metropolitan police force in Ohio may be understood by observing the equipment and personnel of the Cleveland police department in 1887. At that time the regular force was augmented by merchant police. Fifty patrol boxes were in operation, twenty-one signal instruments and twenty-one miles of wire. Two patrol wagons were in service. The first police matrons were appointed in 1893. Not until four years later, however, did Cleveland introduce a scientific method of identification. At that time,

⁷³ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Aug. 3, 1877.

⁷⁴ Steffens, *Autobiography*, 208.

⁷⁵ *Cleveland Leader*, Jan. 1, 3, 1870.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1875.



20. A PATROL-BOX ARREST SHOWING POLICE EQUIPMENT AND PRACTICE

Harper's Weekly, Aug. 19, 1893.

an officer was sent to Cincinnati to study the Bertillon system used by Queen City officers.⁷⁷

For many years Ohio city policemen were appointed because of political influence rather than for their efficiency. Governor Hoadly took particular pains in 1884 to determine how politics could be kept out of city police departments. He also insisted that Ohio municipalities⁷⁸ provide adequate police protection for their citizens, saying that he did not feel like converting communities into garrison towns whenever local authorities could not keep the peace.⁷⁹ Not until 1886 did Cincinnati get a non-partisan police force. Cincinnati established a detective bureau in the same year. In 1887, the Morgan medal was presented to ten patrolmen in token of their efficiency during the past year. The patrol wagon service was first operated in 1881. One of the earliest police relief associations in the State was organized in Cincinnati in 1876.⁸⁰ In Akron, the police department was formed in 1898,⁸¹ and in 1881 the Toledo police department had been reorganized on a modern basis.⁸² Other Ohio cities, including Columbus, Dayton and Hamilton, brought their public protection forces to meet modern needs during the same period. Activities of the Toledo police department in 1887 were representative of other Ohio city forces. The force consisted of a captain and an acting superintendent, a lieutenant, six sergeants, a chief of detectives, two detectives, one patrol sergeant and seventy patrolmen. Using 117 alarm boxes and one patrol wagon, this personnel arrested 3,037 persons in the city, recovered about two-thirds of all property reported stolen, housed 2,080 lodgers at the station and made 1,840 runs in the patrol wagon.⁸³

Crowded tenement districts in most of Ohio's cities complicated fire protection as well as law enforcement. Cincinnati in the decade after the Civil War was reported to have some thirty thousand per-

⁷⁷ Orth, *A History of Cleveland*, I, 250-1.

⁷⁸ George Hoadly to Col. D. S. Lamont, Columbus, Dec. 12, 1884, Executive Letter Book, 1884-1885, p. 392.

⁷⁹ *Id.* to John Boden, Columbus, Dec. 19, 1884, *ibid.*, 411.

⁸⁰ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 969-73.

⁸¹ Historical Committee, *Centennial History of Akron*, 191.

⁸² Waggoner, *History of the City of Toledo*, 837.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 838.

sons jammed into fifteen hundred tenements.⁸⁴ No better description of the slum could be found than that quoted by a Toledo public health officer who said it was the paramount curse of every city where it existed. "It disheartens the poor," he continued, "preys upon the immigrant, corrupts politics, spreads immorality, tramples upon virtue, destroys property, and renders valueless for all but slum purposes vast areas. It drives a better population from its territory, invites a poorer one, defaces the dwelling house, discourages repairs, smears it with filth, packs it with hungry humanity, and then raises the rent upon it."⁸⁵

Fragile structures, jammed with humanity, waste and refuse, were a constant menace. Even factories, many of them operating without adequate supervision and some of them paying little attention to primitive building ordinances, were firetraps for workers. Boiler explosions, one of the common causes of fire during the seventies and eighties, were frequent. In the days before police and fire departments were linked by communication through telegraph long minutes passed before a blaze was fought.⁸⁶ Fire apparatus, in many cities was inferior and fire-fighting methods were almost as primitive as the old bucket brigade. Severe criticism was made of the Cleveland Board of Fire Commissioners in 1875 which charged that firemen of acknowledged efficiency were being discharged in order to substitute worthless political bummers.⁸⁷ So inadequate, indeed, was the fire-alarm signal system of Cleveland in 1870 that it was frequently impossible to tell exactly what box had been pulled.⁸⁸

By 1873, however, the Cincinnati Fire Department could put a force of one hundred and forty men, eighteen steam engine companies, four hook and ladder companies and supplementary fuel and supply engines at the scene of a blaze. A fire-alarm telegraph corps was in service. Despite this protection, probably the best in

⁸⁴ Rhodes, *Creed and Greed*, 131.

⁸⁵ Oscar Hasencamp, "Better Housing for Our Industrial Classes," *Monthly Bulletin Ohio State Board of Health*, II (1912), 27.

⁸⁶ Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland*, 42.

⁸⁷ *Cleveland Leader*, Aug. 2, 1875.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1870.

the State at that time, Cincinnati suffered one serious conflagration after another. In August, 1877, a cigar box factory burned for only about twenty-five minutes. Yet in that time six workers were burned to death. When the Marqua fire broke out in July, 1881, thirty factories burned before the blaze could be controlled. As late as 1901 when Sothern was playing *Hamlet* at the Grand Opera House, it was impossible to arrest the fire until the theater had been practically destroyed. The blaze lasted only thirty minutes.⁸⁹ In 1881, total fire losses in Cincinnati from 1853 amounted to about a million and a half dollars.⁹⁰

Cleveland took the lead in 1872 when it put a salvage corps into service equipped with canvas coverings and other supplies to protect furniture and commercial stock. Three years later the department added its first piston engine to the force, and in 1877 it introduced the aerial ladder and suspended harness. Not until 1881, however, did the sliding pole by which firemen could slide down from their living quarters to the engine room come into use. In the following year, the city purchased its first chemical engine and in 1886 put into service its first fire boat. As in Cincinnati, fire broke out with astonishing regularity in Cleveland. The greatest blaze in the history of the city occurred on September 7, 1884, when a lumberyard fire brought out every piece of apparatus and additional aid was sent from twelve other Ohio cities.⁹¹

The inadequacy of some fire departments was expressed in 1880 when the commissioners of the Dayton Fire Department said that they found the department without a chief officer, the station houses in need of repair and the number of horses insufficient to move apparatus. New hose was needed and a thorough reorganization necessary before the department could render satisfactory service.⁹² The Akron Fire Department made 792 runs during the period from 1878 to 1890. The aggregate loss during this thirteen-year period

⁸⁹ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 973-8.

⁹⁰ *Cincinnati Gazette*, July 22, 1881.

⁹¹ Orth, *History of Cleveland*, I, 151-67.

⁹² Drury, *History of the City of Dayton*, I, 523.

was estimated at \$1,619,965.⁹³ Not until the twentieth century was the fearful rate of urban fires reduced in Ohio. Then the establishment of municipal water systems with adequate pressure, enforcement of building and fire regulations, and the use of instantaneous alarm devices and modern apparatus cut dramatic blazes drastically.

Ohio cities modernized their water supply systems only after the Civil War. Health officers realized that it was the duty not only of the physician but also of the citizen to see that communities and households were provided with good water.⁹⁴ In 1870, no municipality in the State operated a waterworks adequate for the needs of citizens. Most persons still carried their water in buckets from pumps located near their homes. Sanitary disposal of sewage was unknown to the masses. As a result, public health frequently was affected. The privy nuisance was reported by physician after physician with the notation that nothing could be done to allay the evil.⁹⁵ Only rarely did a health officer, as in Bellefontaine, indicate that all privy vaults were to be cemented, made absolutely water-tight, and kept so. But this same officer admitted, "We virtually have no sewerage, save that of natural surface drainage."⁹⁶ Sewerage was shown to be a municipal saving, not only in actual dollars and cents, but also in better health and reduced death rates.⁹⁷

Larger cities, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Columbus, were making some additional progress. In 1890, ten miles of sewer pipe were laid and connections made with six hundred Cincinnati homes. In addition, more than thirty-nine thousand nuisances, including "full and foul vaults," "obstructed catch basins, gutters, and drains," and "filthy yards, alleys, and cellars," were abated. Cleveland possessed about twelve miles of sewers with about six thousand house connections. Dr. Lee McBriar, Columbus health officer, reported the total

⁹³ Lane, *Fifty Years and Over of Akron*, 348.

⁹⁴ John W. Hill, "Public Water Supplies," *Monthly Bulletin Ohio State Board of Health*, I (1911), 6.

⁹⁵ Ohio State Board of Health, *Fifth Annual Report* (Columbus, 1891), 90-126. Hereafter cited as *State Board of Health Report*.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁹⁷ W. H. Dittoe, "Sewerage as a Modern Necessity and Some Principles Underlying its Proper Installation," *Monthly Bulletin Ohio State Board of Health*, I, 223, 224, 227-8.

length of all local sewers as 46,275 linear feet.⁹⁸ In Dayton, contracts for construction of sewers had been awarded, but operations had been halted as the result of injunctions brought by citizens. Akron had only two hundred homes with sewer connections.⁹⁹ So impressed was a member of the State Board of Health with the need for adequate sewerage facilities that he maintained only sanitary science could prolong life.¹⁰⁰

Although municipal waterworks were constructed in Cincinnati as early as 1820 and in Cleveland in 1854, the great period of building, laying of pipe and connecting with homes came during the twenty years between 1880 and 1900. Athens was fortunate in 1873 when the Athens Asylum for the Insane pumped water into a reservoir holding four hundred thousand gallons. Canton's municipal waterworks functioned in 1869 and Youngstown got under way in 1872 when it pumped water direct from the Mahoning River. Only about eighty-five Ohio communities, however, maintained municipal water supply in 1890.¹⁰¹

The situation was considerably improved by the turn of the century. Local health officers generally were reporting the abatement of the privy nuisance, clean streets and alleys, and adequate, if not complete, sewerage. Here and there, as in Columbus, residents complained about the improper discharge of sewage. In Toledo, a health officer reported that the sewerage system was inadequate, especially in business districts, as water backed up in cellars and basements and deposited its contents. Many small Ohio communities in 1900 possessed no village waterworks. Among these were Ansonia, Bedford, Grand River, Oxford and Medina.¹⁰² In 1911, Ohio health officers still were combatting the privy and urging citizens to make vaults as nearly fly-proof as possible.¹⁰³ In 1912, eighty-two municipalities with a population of more than five thousand persons were

⁹⁸ *State Board of Health Report, 1890*, 96, 97.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 90, 99.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 229-51.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 1900, 235-321.

¹⁰³ C. O. Probst, "The Fly as a Disease Carrier," *Monthly Bulletin Ohio State Board of Health*, I, 249.

found to have different plumbing regulations or none at all. In seven hundred other municipalities with a population of less than five thousand only one community was found to have a plumbing code.¹⁰⁴

Improper sewerage facilities and water supplies affected public health in Ohio's larger communities. Typhoid fever, diphtheria, membranous croup and scarlet fever attacked fiercely. The mortality rate was high. In 1878 the death rate in Cincinnati was 21.5 per thousand population; in 1900, it stood at 16.6.¹⁰⁵ The annual death rate in the State in 1888 was 16.5 per thousand. By the turn of the century the rate had dropped to 10.85. Croup, diphtheria, cholera, diarrhea, measles, scarlet fever and whooping cough, together with consumption, pneumonia and meningitis were feared by every family. Typhoid fever was responsible for 3.8 per cent of all deaths reported. Smallpox was general and but little attention given to vaccination even though urged by health authorities. In 1900, more than three thousand cases were reported in Ohio with forty-four deaths. Two hundred and ten of these were reported in Cincinnati, forty in Columbus and twenty-nine in Elyria.¹⁰⁶

Sickness, disease, poverty and death resulted in many instances from crowded tenement districts where workingmen were crowded into cramped quarters with neither enough light and air nor proper sanitary facilities. Physicians felt that life in rural districts was far more advantageous to the Ohioan than existence in the State's crowded cities where dark, damp, shaded rooms fostered all kinds of disease and produced debilitated and anemic children.¹⁰⁷ In 1901, an investigation of eight of Cincinnati's worst tenement houses showed one and a half per cent to be very dark, two per cent dark and forty-three per cent gloomy.¹⁰⁸ Few had separate toilets and most families utilized courtyard closets or vaults. Such condi-

¹⁰⁴ Wm. C. Groeniger, "Address of the State Inspector of Plumbing," *ibid.*, II, 181.

¹⁰⁵ *State Board of Health Report*, 1900, 249; Rhodes, *Creed and Greed*, 119.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-11.

¹⁰⁷ H. T. Sutton, "The Comparative Advantage from a Health Standpoint Between Country and City Life," *Monthly Bulletin Ohio State Board of Health*, I, 319.

¹⁰⁸ National Conference of Charities and Correction, *Proceedings*, 1903 (n.p., n.d.), 353, 354.

tions gave rise to a plethora of social problems which eventually were handled by organized charities. The genius of reform, said a social worker, is abroad in our State.¹⁰⁹ In Cincinnati the Associated Charities was organized in 1879 to investigate cases of actual need, to guide charities in a scientific fashion and to collect and distribute relief funds.

During the flood of 1883 the Associated Charities of Cincinnati relieved more than twenty-four thousand persons, supplied more than two thousand families with clothing, gave away eighty-six tons of coal and more than three thousand pairs of boots and shoes, and issued 105,000 rations.¹¹⁰ The poor and indigent of Cleveland were cared for by the Bethel Associated Charities which in 1894 was aiding mill hands and mechanics, laborers and sailors, clerks and office men, shopgirls and seamstresses who were idle and claimed to be seeking work. The Hebrew Relief Association and the Wayfarers' Lodge extended their services to the Cleveland poor. Among the applicants seeking relief, in the order of their number, were Germans, Bohemians, Poles, Irish and Americans.¹¹¹ In 1898, Columbus maintained no charitable institutions nor did the city contribute to the support of private charitable associations. There was no city lodging house where homeless persons could sleep. Police, however, permitted them to sleep at the city prison or referred them to the Union Mission where the cost of lodging was ten cents.¹¹² Toledo maintained no lodgingshouse, but sent homeless persons to the Toledo Humane Society where they could get a bed for ten cents and a meal for a dime.¹¹³ The city of Dayton supported no lodging house. The Associated Charities, however, maintained a home for men only during the winter months.¹¹⁴

When the National Conference of Charities and Correction met in Cincinnati in 1899, Washington Gladden, well-known Columbus

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1887 (Boston, 1887), 237.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1884 (Madison, Wis., 1884), 104.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1894 (Boston, 1894), 50-4.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 1898 (Boston, 1899), 149.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 152.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 161.

clergyman, analyzed the man who was out of work. He pointed out that the unemployed could be divided into men who wanted to work and those who wanted to live without working. Cities, he said, must give a work test to all applying for relief. "When the chronic mendicants and the incompetents have been weeded out," he predicted that "we shall be able to deal more intelligently with the industrious and capable among the unemployed." He insisted, however, that the State to save itself from ruin must stop breeding paupers.¹¹⁵

City churches themselves did much in a quiet way to relieve suffering among their members. To this degree they materially reduced the load that professional charitable institutions were carrying. German Lutheran churches and German Roman Catholic churches took care of their own as much as possible. It was not uncommon to see an Irish priest call upon a poor family in his parish and shortly thereafter to have a ton of coal dumped on the sidewalk. Ohio urban life had not become at that time so impersonal that a minister did not know even the members of his congregation. On Sunday morning throughout the State families dressed in their best went *en masse* to divine services. Working people in shawls, bonnets and plain dresses and in well-brushed blue serge suits with stubby shoes painfully shined, heard Mass or listened to a Methodist sermon. In more aristocratic districts carriages carried stylish women, frock-coated gentlemen and boys and girls with ribbons on their flat hats to Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopal edifices. Middle-class families crowded into jangling street cars on their way to church.

Cincinnati clergymen in 1878, stimulated no doubt by a wave of vice and lawlessness, were picturing the tortures of Hell and future punishment with astonishing realism. On one Sunday four Protestant pastors conducted tours of Hell. "The Methodists," caustically commented the Cincinnati *Commercial*, "will stand up bravely for the hell of the fathers, and ventilate it sufficiently to satisfy

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1899 (Boston, 1900), 141-52.

ordinarily-sensitive nostrils of the presence of burning brimstone."¹¹⁶ In addition to the regular denominational services most large Ohio cities witnessed the work of missions which usually were located in poorer districts. Revivals were numerous and enthusiastic.

No religious group took better care of its own than did the Jews of Ohio. "If the Cincinnati Jew can point with pride to any one virtue," said a prominent leader, "it is that in all his history from 1817 to 1903, he has never allowed his brother to become a public charge, he has never asked his sectarian fellow citizens to contribute to his charities and organizations, nor refused to contribute to theirs."¹¹⁷ By 1870 Jewish interests were well established in the larger cities where they were engaged in the clothing business, general merchandise, and in the whiskey, boot and shoe, and trunk trade. In addition, they worked as contractors, carpenters, brick-layers, plumbers and electricians.¹¹⁸

Many Jewish congregations in Ohio were established before the Civil War and grew rapidly from that time until the turn of the century. In Dayton, for example, the New Jewish Synagogue was dedicated in 1863 and served until 1892 when a new temple was built.¹¹⁹ St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Akron was purchased in 1885 and converted into a synagogue. The Jewish population of this city numbered about three hundred in 1892.¹²⁰ In Toledo, Jews worshipped at B'Nai Jacob and B'Nai Israel temples.¹²¹ It was in the larger communities, such as Cincinnati and Cleveland, that the bulk of Ohio's Jews settled. The first Jew, a watchmaker, is said to have arrived in Cincinnati in 1817, and the first Jew to settle in Cleveland is believed to have arrived from Bavaria in 1837.¹²²

By 1880 the Jew had established himself firmly in all phases of Ohio commercial and cultural life. The city seemed his natural

¹¹⁶ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Jan. 20, 1878.

¹¹⁷ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 939.

¹¹⁸ Orth, *History of Cleveland*, I, 392.

¹¹⁹ Drury, *History of the City of Dayton*, I, 364.

¹²⁰ Lane, *Fifty Years and Over of Akron*, 210.

¹²¹ Waggoner, *History of the City of Toledo*, 602.

¹²² Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 910; Orth, *History of Cleveland*, I, 377.

habitat and there he made his greatest contributions. In Cincinnati, Dr. Isaac M. Wise of the Bene Yeshurun Congregation served as a distinguished Jew and citizen from 1854 until his death in 1900. He was instrumental in establishing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College which became known as one of the leading theological schools throughout the land. Wise also founded one of the great Jewish journals in the United States, *The American Israelite*. Innumerable charitable organizations, including the Hebrew General Relief Association (1856), the Jewish Ladies' Sewing Society (1875), and the Jewish Foster Home (1892), were stimulated by his enthusiasm and encouraged by his wisdom.¹²³

Cleveland Jews, stimulated by the work in Cincinnati, organized themselves both for religious devotion and social work. Shortly after the turn of the century Cleveland had about twenty Orthodox Jewish congregations, the members the majority of which hailed from Hungary, Russia and Poland. Jewish schools and Sunday Schools were well supported. A Hebrew Relief Association had been established in 1858, the Jewish Orphan Asylum in 1868, a home for the aged in 1882, a home for homeless infant children in 1889 and the Cleveland Council of Jewish Women in 1894. The Federation of Jewish Charities was chartered in 1903. Among Cleveland Jews attaining an enviable place in the history of Ohio art were Louis Loeb and George Peixotto. Benjamin F. Peixotto was appointed by President Grant as United States Minister to Roumania and later President Hayes appointed him United States Consul General to Lyons, France.¹²⁴ Hayes characterized Peixotto as both patriotic and able.¹²⁵

Life in the city, however, did not revolve entirely about the church and its varied activities. Urban activities were apt to be more secular than religious. While many women attended gospel meetings and sewing circles, men were apt to be attending lodge. Mem-

¹²³ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 942, 945, 946.

¹²⁴ Orth, *History of Cleveland*, I, 392.

¹²⁵ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, IV, 603.

bership in secret fraternal organizations increased tremendously during the seventies and following decades. So great, indeed, did this interest become that "Lodge Night" became as integral a part of town life as was the Wednesday evening prayer meeting.¹²⁶

In addition to the well-established lodges, the Masons, I. O. O. F., K. of P., and the G. A. R., Ohioans were joining Knights of the Golden Rule, the Frosty Sons of Thunder and the Fraternal Mystic Circle.¹²⁷ The first Akron Commandery of Knights Templars was chartered in 1871 and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows had been founded in 1845. The Knights of Pythias was organized in the city in 1871.¹²⁸ Many men of Toledo found opportunity to combine fraternity with mutual aid in 1879 when the Knights of the Golden Rule was organized. They might also enlist in the Order of Chosen Friends, a popular society of the seventies and eighties, or in the American Legion of Honor, organized in 1879, or, if they preferred, in such organizations as the Royal Arcanum or the Sons of Malta.¹²⁹

In 1883, more than a hundred and sixty fraternal societies and benevolent associations were incorporated, covering almost every conceivable activity as their titles indicated. These included the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Benevolent Order of Ivorites, the Independent Order of Rechabites, the Hope Smokers Casino Association, the Knights of St. George, the Cesko Rimsko Katalickie Podporujici Spolek Svata Alzbety, the Knights of Honor, the Columbus Police Benevolent Association, and Der Frauen Verein der Unabhängig-Protestantischen Gemeinde.¹³⁰ By 1904 the number of secret societies in Cincinnati alone exceeded two thousand, including such colorful titles as the Independent Order of Good Samaritans, United Order of True Reformers, Knights of the Ancient Essenic Order, and Ye Ancient Order of Whynot.¹³¹ Not

¹²⁶ For Cleveland lodge and secret organizations see *Cleveland Leader*, Jan. 5, 9, 12, Mar. 1, May 27, Dec. 10, 1875.

¹²⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Oct. 18, 1885.

¹²⁸ Historical Committee, *A Centennial History of Akron*, 388, 389, 390.

¹²⁹ Waggoner, *History of the City of Toledo*, 730-1.

¹³⁰ *Ohio Stat.*, 1883, 177-81.

¹³¹ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 1030.

until after the turn of the century did the Eagles and the Moose become strong in the State.

When members of secret societies descended upon Ohio cities for conventions and annual meetings, streets were filled with varieties of gay uniforms, fife and drum corps blasted the peace, and gaudily-clad drill teams performed intricate maneuvers. Even volunteer fire companies, hose and engine brigades, brought social significance to their duties. The Kirby Light Guards at Upper Sandusky held a two-day celebration in 1875 with elaborate suppers and other entertainment. At Wauseon fire laddies staged demonstrations followed by social relaxation.¹³² In 1888, the Grand Army of the Republic turned Columbus into a tented city. Thousands of veterans belonging to one of America's great organizations thronged streets and filled private homes. A parade of men in Blue lasted most of an entire day.¹³³ Seventy thousand men were in line. When the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick convened, it was said that "speeches and the generous flow of the ruby made the occasion an enjoyable one."¹³⁴ One of Cleveland's crack military and social organizations was the Cleveland Grays. Supported by a loyal city which raised thirty-five hundred dollars for traveling expenses, the Grays were sent to Washington to parade at the inaugural of President Garfield.¹³⁵ In Cincinnati, the Irish-American Centennial Guards spiced weeks of drill with receptions and balls.¹³⁶

Politicians, however, frequently found that membership in secret societies was no asset in campaign years. In 1875, Hayes was asked if he belonged to any secret organizations by a friend who told him that a little knot of Republican "anti-secrets" would not be pleased to learn of such activity. During the same campaign "Rise Up" Allen testified that he was a member of no order except the Democratic party and the Ross County Agricultural Society.¹³⁷ If, how-

¹³² W. C. Kelly to R. B. Hayes, Wauseon, June 11, 1875, Hayes MSS. (Hayes Memorial Library).

¹³³ Julia B. Foraker, *I Would Live It Again* (New York, 1932), 117.

¹³⁴ Cincinnati Commercial, Jan. 20, 1878.

¹³⁵ Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland*, 38.

¹³⁶ Cincinnati Commercial, Jan. 20, 1878.

¹³⁷ Isaac Springer to R. B. Hayes, Wauseon, Sept. 21, 1876, Hayes MSS.

ever, politicians were wary of lodge membership, physicians from early times identified themselves with the many fraternal organizations which Ohio society offered.¹³⁸ Hayes received frequent invitations to attend encampments and meetings of veterans. The Society of the Army of the Cumberland wished him to come to New York to attend its celebration, and the Third and Tenth Regiments of the Ohio Volunteer Cavalry urged him to be present at its seventh annual reunion at Sandusky.¹³⁹

Perhaps one of the most elaborate dinners staged in Cincinnati during the seventies by a fraternal group was given by the Society of Ex-Army and Navy Officers at the Burnet House. At the ends of long tables with service laid for eighty guests were tempting columns of "delicate sweets, covered with spun sugar as delicate in fibers as the web of the spider." At each plate, neatly placed in a deftly folded napkin, was a fragrant boutonniere. Among the choice articles on an elaborate menu were Kennebec salmon, Red River venison, canvas-back duck and broiled quail, lobster and larded sweetbreads.¹⁴⁰ Another great dinner remembered with affection occurred in 1881 when covers were laid for three thousand guests in the Music Hall to celebrate the opening of the Cincinnati Southern Railway to Chattanooga.¹⁴¹

The common man, of course, was barred from such elaborate and formal functions. He was apt to find pleasure in cheaper and perhaps more primitive pleasures. Larger cities offered him entertainment at the rat pit where dogs weighing not more than twenty-five pounds fought especially-trained rodents.¹⁴² Cock fighting was popular both on Lake Erie and on the Ohio River. In 1876, a match was arranged between birds of Cincinnati and Louisville.¹⁴³ A cock fight between the sharp-spurred contestants from Cleveland and

¹³⁸ James J. Tyler, "The Part That the Pioneer Physicians of Ohio Played in the Community as Exemplified in the Church and the Lodge," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVIII (1939), *passim*.

¹³⁹ W. C. Squire to R. B. Hayes, Utica, New York, Aug. 19, 1875, Hayes MSS.; E. M. Colver to *id.*, Sandusky, Aug. 17, 1875, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 18, 1878.

¹⁴¹ De Chambrun, *Cincinnati*, 263.

¹⁴² *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Oct. 4, 1861.

¹⁴³ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Dec. 31, 1876.

Troy was held in the ballroom of the Rockport House.¹⁴⁴ Wrestling was equally popular. Among the first wrestlers to use the "Graeco-Roman" technique in Cincinnati were Muller and Carteron. A prize fight between Tom Allen and Joe Gross attracted large numbers from the Queen City to Kentucky to witness a favorite sport.¹⁴⁵ Among noted Ohio boxers who drew huge crowds and slugged their way to ring fame was Gus Ruhlin, an Akron youth of twenty-four years when he made his first bid for fame. In 1897, Ruhlin fought a punishing twenty-round draw in San Francisco with the mighty Jeffries.

On another occasion the six-feet-two-inch Ruhlin gave Bob Fitzsimmons a severe beating, winning five rounds out of six and dealing his opponent a killing blow in the solar plexus in the last round. Fitzsimmons, however, rallied and with a short right to the jaw stretched the Akron giant on the canvas. A featherweight Ohio boxer of note, Art Simms was known as a versatile and resourceful fighter who could slug with either hand. Seldom a season passed in the larger cities which did not see featherweights, welterweights and heavyweights trade punches. Saloons and gambling dens also offered solace and entertainment to many sportsmen. St. Clair Street in Cleveland was well known to the newspaper fraternity as gambling row.¹⁴⁶

Middle-class families fell victim to the roller skating fad that swept Ohio cities during the eighties. Rinks, built in different sections of cities, catered to enthusiastic crowds. Full brass bands furnished music for all classes of society. It was no uncommon sight to see whole families, father, mother, half a dozen children, and sometimes the grandparents on both sides enjoying the roller rink.¹⁴⁷ Henry Ward Beecher once lectured in Akron's first roller-skating rink.¹⁴⁸ Governor Hoadly was responsible for the closing of the Princess Rink Club in Columbus because it discriminated against

¹⁴⁴ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Jan. 5, 1875.

¹⁴⁵ *Cincinnati Gazette*, Dec. 30, 1876.

¹⁴⁶ Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland*, 44.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁴⁸ Historical Committee, *Centennial History of Akron*, 379.

persons of color.¹⁴⁹ When the roller-skating craze was replaced by the bicycle mania, Akron, like other cities, endorsed the fad. In 1884, Akron sent a team of cyclists to the district meet of the American Wheelmen Association. From 1885 to 1892 Akron bike fans made extensive trips on wheels, visiting Canton, Cleveland and Chicago. A Cycle Carnival Week in 1899 featured a six-day race as well as other special events.¹⁵⁰ Carnegie Avenue in Cleveland was the mecca of the bicycle crowd. The first Cleveland street to be paved with asphalt, Carnegie Avenue at night was filled with a steady stream of high-wheeled machines whose headlights illuminated the experts and cast into bold relief unfortunates who tumbled off.¹⁵¹

Baseball, of course, was the pride of Cincinnati where the famous Reds had been organized in 1869 as the first professional baseball nine in the United States. Henry Wright, captain, played center field; Asa Brainard was pitcher and Douglas Allison was catcher; George Wright played shortstop, and the bases were filled by Charles H. Gould, Charles Sweasy and Fred Waterman. Calvin McVey played right field and Andrew J. Leonard, left field.¹⁵² The team played its way into prominence during the seventies and became recognized as one of America's great clubs shortly thereafter.

Riding academies offered decorous exercise for the wealthy who wished to single-foot along graveled pathways of municipal parks and country lanes. Coaching was reserved for the extremely well-to-do, for a coach-and-four with a groom perched behind the box to warn traffic by blowing a loud horn was no inexpensive pastime.¹⁵³ The common man who labored in the city, however, traveled to the country in street car and on foot and his lunch basket contained not aspics, pâté, sandwiches and wine, but rye bread, Swiss cheese, wienerwurst and beer. One of the favorite Sunday diversions of

¹⁴⁹ George Hoadly to Messrs. Taft and Mooney, Columbus, Feb. 5, 1885, Executive Letter Book, 1884-1885, p. 581.

¹⁵⁰ Historical Committee, *Centennial History of Akron*, 552-3.

¹⁵¹ Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland*, 52.

¹⁵² Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 851.

¹⁵³ De Chambrun, *Cincinnati*, 273.

Akron residents was to get on the front seat of an old-fashioned open street car and enjoy the breeze.¹⁵⁴

Receptions were formal and splendid with the hour fashionably late.¹⁵⁵ In Cincinnati the bachelors' ball, held at the impeccable Burnet House with its polished marble floor, attracted debutantes in evening gowns decorated with Parma violets, or American Beauty roses. Marked by formality and distinction the balls opened with a grand march and concluded after an elaborate supper with a cotillion.¹⁵⁶ New Year's day in Ohio cities was a distinctly social event. Newspapers published extensive lists of "at homes" and long queues of carriages with coachmen who held their teams' necks arched by tight checkreins stood before socially-desirable doors in Cleveland's fashionable section of Euclid Avenue, Prospect Street, and Franklin and Jennings avenues. Even a poor man, if his manners were not too *gauche*, might gain entrance on New Year's to homes otherwise closed and sealed against him.¹⁵⁷ Euchre and whist were games for the élite who gathered in drawing-rooms to spend an evening. The laborer was contented with poker, skat, and pinochle played across the Rhine in Cincinnati or on the Cleveland Flats. While champagne flowed at the St. Nicholas in Cincinnati, the Germans sat long over their foaming beer "ever and again shaking it round their glasses with that peculiar circular motion which none but a German can impart to the beverage he loves."¹⁵⁸

City life offered more, however, than smug receptions, bawdy cock fights, fashionable picnics and beer-garden fun. Opportunities for intellectual growth came of age during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. The public schools of Cincinnati received a progressive impulse in 1874 when Dr. John B. Peaslee, graduate of Dartmouth and the Cincinnati Law School, was named superintendent. Peaslee advocated the reduction of "home work," the decrease in number of hours of tuition and the shortening of the

¹⁵⁴ Historical Committee, *Centennial History of Akron*, 381.

¹⁵⁵ Foraker, *I Would Live It Again*, 73.

¹⁵⁶ De Chambrun, *Cincinnati*, 272.

¹⁵⁷ Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland*, 274.

¹⁵⁸ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 879.

school term. He emphasized, on the other hand, greater ethical training and more careful attention to physical fitness. Study of the German language was stimulated and drawing and music received more attention than previously.¹⁵⁹

In Cleveland, the period of education development began in 1867 when Andrew J. Rickoff was named superintendent. He immediately reorganized the system, making each school principal a responsible executive, reclassifying the grades into primary, grammar and high school divisions, and permitting boys and girls to share the same school rooms. German was added to the curriculum in 1870 and two years later drawing was introduced with all teachers receiving instruction. By 1878 a plan of semi-annual examinations and promotions was ready for operation. A Central High School was dedicated in the same year. In 1876, Rickoff inaugurated a school for incorrigibles. During the eighties, courses were added in manual training and in domestic science. Not until 1893, however, were courses in the physical sciences permitted to enter the rather rigid classical curriculum.¹⁶⁰ When the Walnut Hills High School was completed in 1895 in Cincinnati, it contained a chemical and physical laboratory. Domestic science was not introduced into the Cincinnati system until 1892.¹⁶¹

Improvement in public school administration and curriculum gained way in other Ohio municipalities. The Lancasterian system of earlier days was being replaced in Dayton, Columbus, Toledo and elsewhere with courses designed to fit the needs of pupils. Drawing was introduced into Dayton schools in 1878, and a decade later a superintendent of penmanship was hired. From 1889 to 1909 Dayton schools entirely reorganized and modernized themselves.¹⁶² An interesting and valuable innovation was the establishment of evening schools where adults and workers could receive instruction in languages and mechanical arts. Toledo opened an evening school

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 886.

¹⁶⁰ Orth, *History of Cleveland*, I, 529-34.

¹⁶¹ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 888, 889.

¹⁶² Drury, *History of the City of Dayton*, I, 440-5.

of this type in 1870.¹⁶³ Within the next twenty years Columbus and other cities were convinced of the suitability of this training which combined the manual with the mental arts. When Akron dedicated its new high school building in 1886, rooms had been set aside for the social use of students, a startling departure from the theory held so long that schools consisted only of recitation rooms.¹⁶⁴ Of the 7,707 pupils enrolled in Akron schools in 1888 the majority was born in the United States, but, in the order of their numerical importance, others were born in Germany, Ireland, England, Sweden, France, Italy, Scotland, Wales, Norway, Hungary, Greece, Bohemia and Russia.¹⁶⁵ The school, in many instances, was Ohio's melting pot.

It was also the backlog of State culture. School administrators throughout Buckeyeland ardently wanted to give pupils an insight into "the beautiful, the excellent, the real in letters," to encourage the utmost refinement in taste, and the soundest morality. They advocated the teaching of reverence for God, love of parents, patriotism, charity, honesty, truth, kindness and "whatever other ingredients help to make up true manhood and womanhood."¹⁶⁶ To a large extent city schools led the way toward this ideal.

No Ohioan contributed more to education in loyalty, interest and positive aid than did Rutherford B. Hayes. He believed the only power able to establish and support an efficient system of universal education was the government. "To educate all the citizens of the United States," he said in an address in 1883, "is at once our highest duty and our highest interest. Education is the friend of whatever is most to be desired in civilized society. It is hostile only to that which is bad. There is no safe foundation for free government without it."¹⁶⁷ After visiting a school in Maryland in 1889, Hayes exclaimed, "Surely it is all most gratifying—as great an advance on

¹⁶³ Waggoner, *History of the City of Toledo*, 629.

¹⁶⁴ Lane, *Fifty Years and Over of Akron*, 138.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁶⁶ Commissioner of Common Schools, *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report* (Columbus, 1881), 49, 53. Hereafter cited as *Report of Common Schools*.

¹⁶⁷ Rutherford B. Hayes, "National Aid to Education," Remarks at Roseland Park, Woodstock, Conn., July 4, 1883. Broadside (Hayes Memorial Library).

my day as the railroad and steamboat are on the pack horse and flatboat of pioneer days."¹⁶⁸

Hayes was particularly interested in manual training which was being introduced into city schools. In his mind, manual training gave boys and girls a respect for labor and, in addition, was a good thing for character and morals. "Mix brains," he said, "with labor and wages go up."¹⁶⁹ As the result of Hayes's enthusiasm, the public schools of Fremont endorsed the gradual introduction of manual training into local schools in 1888.¹⁷⁰

Cities offered intellectual advantages other than formal schooling. The growth of libraries, musical halls, museums and historical societies was accentuated during the last quarter of the century. The Cincinnati Society of Natural History, organized in 1870, and the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, a Queen City institution which was moved to larger quarters in 1871, offered unparalleled advantages to city residents. The Cincinnati Public Library with a distinguished history reaching back to 1802 moved into a new building in 1870 and continued through the decades to serve the public.¹⁷¹ Cleveland and other communities, stimulated by the organization of the American Library Association in 1876, opened for greater public use collections of books. The Cleveland Public Library had been dedicated to public use in 1869 and was moved to larger quarters in 1873. Many Ohio cities were encouraged to open libraries when the legislature in 1869 empowered municipalities to establish and maintain free libraries and reading rooms. In 1873, residents of Akron came together to organize a library under the terms of the Act of 1869. The following year a city ordinance made the library a reality.¹⁷² The early days of an Ohio city library were crude, but marked the beginnings of a great institution.

¹⁶⁸ Williams, *Diary and Letters*, IV, 445.

¹⁶⁹ Industrial Education Association, "Hon. Rutherford B. Hayes on Manual Training," *Educational Leaflet*, No. 12, New York, Apr. 3, 1888. Reprinted from *Ohio State Journal*, Feb. 23, 1888. Pamphlet (Hayes Memorial Library).

¹⁷⁰ Fremont (Ohio) *Journal*, Apr. 27, 1888.

¹⁷¹ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 903, 904, 910.

¹⁷² Lane, *Fifty Years and Over of Akron*, 180.

Perhaps the Akron library was typical. Situated on the second floor of the Masonic building, the library was heated by a large coal stove, book shelves were closed with heavy glass doors, the public was separated from the books by a railing, reading tables were crowded and children under twelve were not permitted to draw books.¹⁷³ In 1890, the shelves of the Cleveland Public Library were locked, but would be opened upon request so that a borrower might select a title.¹⁷⁴ A new library was opened to the Toledo public in 1873.¹⁷⁵ Other Ohio cities were doing likewise, although Dayton did not have a library building until 1888.¹⁷⁶ The Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland was organized during the sixties and moved into a new home in the winter of 1897-1898.¹⁷⁷ In 1890, about twenty institutional and private libraries were incorporated in Ohio.¹⁷⁸ Ten years earlier, sixteen cultural organizations including the Tiffin Public Library Association had been incorporated.¹⁷⁹

The preservation of historical materials had long been of interest to Ohioans. In 1875, Hayes had collected a library of rare books and papers relating to the early settlement of northern Ohio.¹⁸⁰ He had undertaken this project some four years earlier when he began accumulating a collection for the State Library of letters and other manuscript materials relating to the story of Buckeye history.¹⁸¹ Foraker was sufficiently impressed by the work of historical museums and societies to invite the American Historical Association to meet in Columbus.¹⁸² Yet as late as 1896, Governor Bushnell's secretary wrote that "It is a matter of regret that there are no stringent and specific laws relating to the preservation of objects interesting alike to the antiquarian and layman of today."¹⁸³

¹⁷³ Historical Committee, *Centennial History of Akron*, 365.

¹⁷⁴ *The Library Journal* (New York), XV (1890), 296.

¹⁷⁵ Waggoner, *History of the City of Toledo*, 636.

¹⁷⁶ Drury, *History of the City of Dayton*, I, 476.

¹⁷⁷ Orth, *History of Cleveland*, I, 593.

¹⁷⁸ *Ohio Stat.*, 1890, 417.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1880, 158.

¹⁸⁰ Dr. George W. Hill to R. B. Hayes, Ashland, Sept. 29, 1875, Hayes MSS.

¹⁸¹ R. B. Hayes to William Allen, Columbus, Oct. 27, 1871, Executive Letter Book, 1871-1872, p. 38.

¹⁸² J. B. Foraker to Justin Winsor, Columbus, May 16, 1887, *ibid.*, 1888-1889, p. 31.

¹⁸³ J. S. Rodgers to Richard Olney, Columbus, July 2, 1896, *ibid.*, 1896-1897 p. 233.

Municipal government reflected the awkward, growing period during the thirty years from 1870 until 1900 which the entire State experienced as it grew slowly to the maturity of a great commonwealth. In 1870, the legislature enacted measures to grade cities into four classes according to their population. The classes were further subdivided into grades. An act of May, 1878, made the first serious attempt, however, to establish a comprehensive municipal code. Both Cleveland and Cincinnati were then considered cities of the first class. The code developed the Board of City Commissioners and kept the mayor to serve as an executive. From time to time throughout the ensuing years, the legislature, frequently prompted by purely political motives, revised city government. All too frequently the city boss not only controlled his urban realm, but also yanked powerful strings in Columbus.

Gradually, however, political boards were superseded by non-partisan committees. An elective Board of Public Service was created in Cincinnati on April 6, 1900.¹⁸⁴ Cleveland labored valiantly in 1891 to induce the legislature to pass an act permitting a form of municipal government modeled upon the Federal Government which gave the mayor and directors of each city department virtual urban control. The act was passed, but was declared unconstitutional by the Ohio Supreme Court in June, 1902, when the Court not only declared the Act of 1891 unconstitutional, but also swept away as unconstitutional every municipal charter in the State.¹⁸⁵ The turn of the century marked the close of an era in Ohio municipal government and prepared the way for self-government, as Ohio governors had advocated, to the end that the cities of Ohio eventually developed sane control. With Dayton leading the way, the city manager system came in 1924 to Cincinnati which to the disgrace of generations of politicians had been described as infamous.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 964.

¹⁸⁵ Orth, *History of Cleveland*, I, 247.

¹⁸⁶ De Chambrun, *Cincinnati*, 296.

CHAPTER IX

Fifteen Years of Ohio Political Life

THE inauguration of Joseph B. Foraker on a bitter-cold eleventh of January, 1886, not only introduced a new governor, but also ushered in a different political philosophy from any previously known in Ohio. Foraker and Hanna exemplified a concept of government based upon financial conservatism and business solidarity. Wealth and capital were to dominate and condition policies of the State rather than the spirit of individualism and of Jeffersonian ideology. The part played by that power usually described as "Big Business" and by financiers such as Mark Hanna seemed to many only a characteristic of the age. They thought it a natural evolution of government that trusts, combines and monopolies should seek to guide politics along the highway of prosperity where signposts were dollar signs. The goal of the ambitious was power. Money was the symbol of that power.

Throughout the Union, during the turbulent years from 1885 to 1900, hard-headed businessmen fought for political power with the weapon of wealth. They used stocks and bonds and securities and the intricacies of the law to manipulate legislation in the interest of investments. In Pennsylvania, for example, Matthew Stanley Quay, state boss and later United States Senator, consolidated economic interests into a political system. Railroads, oil companies, newspapers, churches, saloons and brothels became a part of Quay's organization. In Ohio, an outspoken reformer characterized Hanna as one who subsidized and controlled men, believed that the state existed as a tool to put profits into the pockets of the favored few, and that to enrich oneself without compunction was not only a legitimate, but a worthy enterprise.¹

¹ Frederic C. Howe, *The Confessions of a Reformer* (New York, 1926), 151.

Governor Foraker, conservative corporation lawyer, reflected this point of view. Yet the "Fire Alarm" of Cincinnati, as Foraker was called because of his impassioned speeches and his unwillingness to forget the strife of the Civil War,² was to quarrel with Hanna, McKinley, and other leaders of his party over a purely party matter in 1889. Despite Foraker's personal conservatism and his break with Republican leaders, his two administrations (he was reelected in 1887) were significant in Ohio political history. His first year as governor was a troubled one. Hardly had he entered upon his official duties than there began an acrimonious dispute over the legislative seats of four senators and ten representatives from Hamilton County. In both instances, the matter was solved along purely party lines and the Democratic contenders were obliged to see their seats filled by Republicans. Foraker's predecessor, Governor Hoadly, had once told the voters of Hamilton bluntly that: "One trouble with the Democracy of Hamilton County is that they have learned the trick of changing the ballots after they have been put in the box."³

Determined to prevent, if possible, further election frauds Foraker recommended the appointment of non-partisan boards of election. As a result, the legislature passed the Pugsley law which applied to Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus and Toledo and which gave the Governor authority to appoint non-partisan boards to supervise elections. In addition to this reform measure, the Foraker administration passed the Dow law, an act providing for the taxation and regulation of the liquor traffic together with local option prohibition. This act, although disliked intensely by certain interests, was upheld by the Supreme Court. A feature of the Dow law was the granting to municipal corporations the power to restrain or prohibit the retail sale of intoxicating liquor. Foraker thought the act was a complete fulfillment of Republican campaign promises.⁴ The *Cincinnati Enquirer* sneered that the bill as introduced was

² J. B. Foraker to Gen. Carl Schurz, Columbus, Aug. 10, 1887, Executive Letter Book, 1888-1889 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 75.

³ Joseph B. Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life* (Cincinnati, 1916), I, 217.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 225.

a hodge-podge of previous enactments including the Scott law, and said that it "wound up with a section prohibiting the Supreme Court from abrogating it or declaring it null and void."⁵

The Foraker administration, in addition to other measures such as one redistributing the State for congressional purposes, passed legislation establishing a State Board of Health, creating the office of dairy and food commissioner, preventing the adulteration and deception in the sale of dairy products and reorganizing the State militia. Another act amended the game laws and provided for the appointment of fish and game commissioners. Among the more interesting bits of legislation in 1888 was an act which provided that instruction as to the effects of alcohol and narcotics on the human system be made a part of public-school learning. The following year acts were passed designed to prevent "bucket-shops" and gambling in stocks, bonds, oil, cotton, grain and other agricultural produce. In addition, the compulsory education law was amended to make it more effective and election laws were modified so as to prevent loitering around polling places.

In addition to passing upon proposed legislation Foraker concerned himself as did other governors with the many details of his office. His incoming correspondence on file for the last five months of 1888, for example, consisted of 285 letters of which sixty-three dealt with the ever-perplexing pardon question or with the transfer of criminals from one state institution to another; thirty-two with commissions dealing with positions such as notary public of which four were complaints against officers serving; thirty-two were formal reports from auditors pertaining to land titles, and eight presented problems concerning war veterans. The remainder were of a miscellaneous character.⁶ In contrast, Hayes's staff received about 500 letters in the year 1871. Of one hundred of these, twenty-four dealt with pardons; eighteen pertained to commissions for justices of the peace and notaries, including four requests for fees which

⁵ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 9, 1886.

⁶ Executive Records, Correspondence, Aug-Dec., 1888 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), Box 269.

applicants had failed to include; nine were requests for half-fare tickets for war veterans on railroads to be delivered by the ticket agent and charged to the account of the State; ten were in reference to the successor of Judge Alonzo Taft of the superior court of Cincinnati; and two were in reply to individuals who had requested that postmasters deliver postage stamps to the bearer and charge to the account of the State. The remainder were of a varied nature.

Foraker, like other executives before and after him, sometimes pardoned prisoners on the condition that they refrain from the use of intoxicating liquors. He released, for example, Peter Becker, convicted of second degree murder, but Becker violated his contract in 1889, and Governor Bushnell ordered him returned to prison to serve out his sentence of life imprisonment.⁷ Upon occasion Foraker could be blunt and forceful. He wasted little time with the "White Cap" movement, a society threatening the peace in southern Ohio in 1889. "All such practices," he sternly addressed a sheriff, "must be effectively stamped out."⁸

Foraker's first year in office witnessed both labor difficulties and natural disaster. In May, 1886, the Nation was shocked by riots in Chicago where laborers were striking for an eight-hour day. In New York and elsewhere, agitation assumed violent proportions. Soon the discord reached Ohio, and cries of "anarchist" reached the ears of parading workers. In Cincinnati, Cleveland, Bellaire, Dayton and elsewhere, striking workmen tied up mines, street railways and printing presses.⁹

In the midst of this confusion with municipalities asking for protection by Ohio militiamen, a violent flood and tornado hit the Miami Valley on the night of May 13. Xenia was flooded by Shawnee Creek; Eaton was inundated by Seven Mile Creek; and Dayton and Miamisburg were drenched by torrential rains. Railroad service was disrupted; countless heads of stock were drowned; temporary

⁷ Asa S. Bushnell to Joseph H. Dyer, Columbus, Aug. 3, 1897, Executive Letter Book, 1896-1897, p. 500.

⁸ J. B. Foraker to John C. Schwartz, Columbus, Apr. 27, 1889, *ibid.*, 1888-1889 p. 386.

⁹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, May 16, 1886.

morgues were established to house the dead until identification was possible.¹⁰

Labor difficulties, as well as official business, prevented Foraker from attending the first banquet of the Ohio Society of New York which was held in the famous Delmonico restaurant on May 7. Two hundred and fifty guests attended, with General Thomas Ewing and Senators John Sherman and Henry B. Payne occupying prominent seats. Whitelaw Reid spoke briefly as did Calvin S. Brice.¹¹

Although no great political crises occurred during the "Fire Alarm's" two terms, the period was not without importance. A minor ripple of interest stirred the State when a relatively small group of men in southern Ohio organized a secret society to punish local offenders. The "White Caps" modeled their organization after the Ku Klux Klan. In 1889, at the instigation of the Governor, the legislature passed an act to define and punish riotous conspiracy which led to the disbanding of the group. Although Foraker probably thought that his suppression of the "White Caps" might reflect adversely upon his political ambitions, Charles Foster, who had made a tour through thirty counties, assured him that such was not the case.¹²

A more dramatic episode occurred in 1887 when President Cleveland suggested that captured Confederate flags be returned to the South. Ardent veteran as he was, Foraker could not tolerate such a suggestion. He telegraphed the President on June 15 saying succinctly: "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor."¹³ The following morning, newspapers throughout the United States publicized Foraker's stand. The Grand Army of the Republic informally supported the Ohio governor, and one of the bits of campaign literature distributed by Foraker when he was campaigning for reelection in 1887 was a copy of his telegram to Cleveland superimposed upon the flag.

Foraker, because of both political interest and emotional bent.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, May 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 1886.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1886.

¹² Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 401.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 242.

was closely associated with Civil War veterans. In 1888, for example, the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic met in Columbus. About seventy thousand veterans paraded before dignitaries such as Sherman, Hayes, and Foraker. So enthusiastic was the Governor over the encampment that he planned for it for weeks and turned his home over to the heroes of the Civil War when they flocked into the city. Mrs. Foraker, almost beside herself with the hubbub, placed cots in her drawing room and upon porches. She served meals at all hours and carried water to her distinguished guests.¹⁴

The year 1888 also marked the centennial of the beginnings of "civilization and government on Ohio soil." Governor Foraker, in his second inaugural address, paid tribute to the Northwest Ordinance, to the courage of the first bands of staunch settlers, and to the character of Governor St. Clair. He spoke also of the coming century. "Let us, therefore," he said, "apply and be governed by these same ideas as we go forward in the discharge of the duties before us. To this end, we must discard and reject all that falls short of the requirements of the highest standard of Right; put the light of truth in every man's way; permit no distinction founded on race, color, nationality or occupation, and remember always to promote that which is calculated to advance America."¹⁵

Inspired by Foraker's words, plans which had been made for celebrations at Marietta and Cincinnati moved rapidly forward. Marietta held two enthusiastic celebrations, and on July 4, 1888, Cincinnati opened its Centennial Exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States with a great street pageant. The exposition continued for a hundred days during which thousands of visitors thronged the city to witness the handsome exhibits. News of the Cincinnati celebration spread rapidly for in May the annual meeting of the American Medical Association was held in the city and in June the annual conclave of the Knights of Pythias met there.¹⁶

¹⁴ Julia B. Foraker, *I Would Live It Again* (New York, 1932), Chap. VII.

¹⁵ *Ohio Exec. Doc., 1887*, I, 751.

¹⁶ Charles T. Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati* (Chicago, 1904), I, 1006.

Governor Foraker with his military staff participated in the parade opening the Cincinnati centennial and later addressed a crowd gathered before the building erected for the occasion on the site of the present Music Hall. The Governor also spoke before a large gathering at the opening of the Marietta centennial early in April. He and Mrs. Foraker spent a week in Marietta which he afterwards described as one of the pleasantest seven-day periods he had ever experienced.¹⁷ Mrs. Foraker remembered their Marietta trip in terms of champion cakes, pies and succulent fried chicken and baked ham. After the ceremonies the Forakers wandered about the old town, viewing one of the earliest churches built in Ohio and seeing the ancient land office.¹⁸

Another celebration and exposition was opened in Columbus at the fair grounds on September 5, but the Marietta and Cincinnati festivities apparently were more elaborate. Railroads throughout the Ohio Valley advertised that they were running the finest equipment to Cincinnati for the comfort of those who wished to attend the celebration and were prepared to handle excursions from as far west as Keokuk, Iowa.¹⁹

Meanwhile, Foraker, although busy with centennial activities and the G. A. R. encampment at Columbus, had not forgotten his political career. He accepted speaking engagements whenever possible and kept himself in the public eye. In 1887, he had been elected an honorary member of the Erodelphian Society, one of Miami University's prominent debating clubs. Other distinguished members of the society were Salmon P. Chase, former chief justice of the United States Supreme Court and secretary of the treasury in Lincoln's cabinet, and Grover Cleveland who acknowledged his invitation from the Executive Mansion.²⁰

When the Republican National Convention met in Chicago on

¹⁷ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 298.

¹⁸ Foraker, *I Would Live It Again*, 171.

¹⁹ Oxford (Ohio) *Citizen*, June 28, 1888.

²⁰ J. B. Foraker to S. Stevenson, Columbus, Mar. 8, 1877; S. P. Chase to Jonah Little, Cincinnati, June 20, 1845; Grover Cleveland to S. Stevenson, Washington, D. C., Mar. 10, 1887. Misc. MSS. (Miami University Library).

June 19, 1888, John Sherman was generally considered one of the strongest candidates. Charles Foster was named chairman of the committee on permanent organization. Among the distinguished Ohioans present were William McKinley, Jr., Benjamin Butterworth, Myron T. Herrick, and Mark Hanna.²¹ Although both McKinley and Hanna were laboring enthusiastically for Sherman, doubts were expressed in some quarters that Foraker's loyalty to Ohio's favorite son was all it should be. Foraker, however, seconded Sherman's nomination and remained steadfast in his allegiance to him. As early as January 16, 1888, Foraker had written Sherman assuring him of his full support.²² As far as is known, the Governor kept that promise.

The fact that the nomination went to Benjamin Harrison rather than to Sherman was due in no sense to Foraker's "disloyalty," but rather to the fact that Sherman did not receive adequate support from delegates of other states. One other event of importance to Ohio grew out of the convention: Hanna was becoming convinced that McKinley who had made the report of the committee on resolutions was good presidential timber. Eventually, Hanna was to control the Republican party in Ohio and as the "power behind the throne" to push his protégé in 1892 into the governor's mansion and four years later into the White House.

The nomination of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana at the convention in 1888 and his subsequent election to the presidency influenced party politics in Ohio. Harrison carried the Buckeye State by an unenthusiastic plurality of less than twenty thousand votes. Despite the fact that Harrison named ex-Governor Foster as the secretary of the treasury, there was little active support of the administration throughout the State. The Republicans, as a matter of fact, suffered because of the national program of their party.

This was one factor which defeated Foraker when he decided to run for governor for the third time. His opponent in 1889 was James

²¹ John Tweedy, *History of the Republican National Conventions, 1856-1908* (Danbury, Conn., 1910), 239.

²² Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 327.

E. Campbell, a Middletown attorney with a Civil War record. Both candidates, Foraker and Campbell, stumped the State vigorously although a brief illness forced Foraker to interrupt his schedule. The campaign was marked by bitterness and antagonism. Foraker was championing the State platform which had been formulated in Columbus in June. Briefly, Ohio Republicans were endorsing a protective tariff, supporting the Harrison administration, favoring a pension bill for veterans and approving the previous Foraker administrations. Campbell, on the other hand, was fighting hard to win popular approval of the Democratic platform written in Columbus in August. He declared for tariff reform, attacked trusts, favored equitable pension laws and denounced the administrations of Foraker.

The dramatic climax of the campaign occurred in July, 1889, after Foraker had accused Campbell in a speech in Music Hall in Cincinnati of being devoted to election reforms only because Campbell was involved financially in a new type of ballot box. When the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* published what purported to be a valid contract bearing Campbell's signature, Foraker took the bait and made an issue of what became known as the "Ballot-box forgery." When it later was learned that the entire situation was a hoax, many votes swung to the Democratic nominee. Foraker maintained that he simply was deceived and that he was as innocent as a "babe unborn" when he believed the charges against Campbell.²³ The campaign was enlivened further by what Foraker termed the "Saloon-Keepers' Rebellion." After the amendment of the Dow law in 1888 increasing the tax to be paid by saloon-keepers, public opinion, especially among the Germans of Cincinnati, organized to oppose the statute.

The League for the Preservation of Citizens' Rights was formed to combat the restrictions upon the liquor traffic. Foraker was so angered by the actions of the league that on July 26, 1889, he addressed a letter to John B. Mosby, mayor of Cincinnati, in which he said: "No man is worthy to enjoy the free institutions of America

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 407.

who rebels against a duly enacted statute and defies the authorities charged with its enforcement.”²⁴ This letter, admitted Foraker, radically changed the character of the campaign. Thousands of Republicans, he said, forgot about other issues, such as the tariff, the third-term idea, and attacks upon the Foraker administration, and turned their attention to a discussion of personal liberty *versus* the upholding of “stable” government.

When the votes were computed after polls closed on election day, it was announced that Campbell had secured 379,423 votes against Foraker’s 368,551. A complication developed when it was found that both candidates for lieutenant-governor claimed the election. Although Elbert L. Lampson, the Republican nominee, was thought to have carried the election, the Ohio Senate later unseated him and approved the Democratic candidate, William V. Marquis. All other Republican candidates were elected.

Governor Campbell was described as a tall, straight, alert and powerful man possessing social charm and grace and lacking self-consciousness and artificial poise. He was said to be devoted to the political tenets of Jackson and Lincoln. An acquaintance characterized him as superstitious and maintained that the Governor once said he never made an important decision on Friday and, to save his life, would not walk under a ladder.²⁵ Campbell was no political novice when he delivered his inaugural address on January 13, 1890. In 1875, he had been elected prosecuting attorney of Butler County and in 1882 was nominated for Congress and was successful in the ensuing election. He was reelected and served during the first administration of President Cleveland. Campbell’s inaugural remarks were pointed and of a reform nature.

Long interested in ballot reform, the Governor bluntly said that no improvement in municipal government could be successful “unless every elector is secured a free, secret, untrammelled and unpurchased ballot which shall be honestly counted and returned.”²⁶

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 414.

²⁵ Lowry F. Sater, *James Edwin Campbell* (Columbus, 1932), 7, 10, 52.

²⁶ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1890, I, xxxii.

He pointed out the successful operation of the Australian Ballot System in many states of the Union and set forth six reasons why the system should be introduced into Ohio. In addition, Campbell advocated home rule for certain cities and recommended imperative changes in the municipal government of Cincinnati. Other recommendations concerned the administration of charitable institutions such as orphans' and soldiers' homes, suggested isolation for certain types of insane, and advocated the completion of an intermediate penitentiary. The Governor interested himself also in cheaper school books and suggested that the State furnish books to pupils. "It is not necessary," he maintained, "to inveigh against capital for monopolizing this form of publication."²⁷ About eight years later, however, a committee of the Ohio Senate investigating trusts in the State heard testimony that Ohio was paying a million and a half dollars more than was necessary for books.²⁸

The Campbell administration, although not spectacular, nevertheless passed some significant legislation. It provided for the use in elections of a modified Australian system and made it imperative for each party ticket to be headed by a distinctive device or symbol. As a result, the Republican party chose the American eagle, the Democratic party, a rooster, the Prohibition party, a rose, and the People's party, a plow and hammer. In addition, the act provided for strict secrecy and severe penalties for corruption and intimidation. The legislature also passed an act making it illegal to employ children under fourteen years of age in factories. The Pennell Act provided for the purchase of school books by the State at a discount of twenty-five per cent below the wholesale price. The ever-vexing liquor problem was dealt with in two statutes. Minors under the Holliday law were prohibited from entering saloons. The Phillips law made it unlawful to dispense intoxicating liquors in brothels. Other acts regulated the insurance business, provided for periods of apprenticeship for railroad engineers and conductors, and appropriated \$100,000 for Ohio's use at the Chicago World's Fair. The

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, xlivi.

²⁸ Ohio Senate, *Trust Investigation*, 1898 [Columbus ? n.d.], 382.

municipal administration of Cleveland was altered by an act which separated legislative and executive functions. An act which abolished the Cincinnati board of public improvements and substituted a board of city affairs was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Calvin S. Brice was chosen to succeed Henry B. Payne in the United States Senate. Brice, a conservative corporation lawyer and builder of railroads, had been graduated from Miami University in 1863, had served in the Union army where he eventually received the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and had then studied law at the University of Michigan. He was admitted to practice in Cincinnati in 1866, but four years later renounced the law for the more remunerative profits of railroad building and manipulating. His success was immediate. He was among the first to propose a railroad to tap the rich Ohio coal fields. His many transportation activities included the conception, building and profitable sale of the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad. At one time he planned to build a railroad in China. Elected to the Senate term beginning on March 4, 1891, Brice became a member of the Democratic steering committee and served on the Committee on Appropriations. Upon retirement, he took up residence in New York City.²⁹ In 1894, Brice, with a number of other distinguished bimetallists, including John Sherman, G. F. Hoar and W. P. Frye, signed a telegram addressed to a bimetallist meeting in London in which they expressed sympathy for the movement.³⁰

As the Democratically inspired Campbell administration drew to a close, Ohio Republicans were busy grooming William McKinley, a conservative, high-tariff advocate for the governorship. Staunchly supported by Mark Hanna, McKinley, who had lost his seat in the national Congress, entered the campaign with vigor. He had been nominated by acclamation at the Republican State Convention held in the gaily-decorated Grand Opera House in Columbus in June, 1891. Foraker himself nominated McKinley whom he described as

²⁹ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, III, 31-2.

³⁰ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 471.

a "fit representative of our views with respect to every living issue, and one who, in his record and his personality, is the best type we have of the illustrious achievements and the moral grandeur of Republicanism."³¹ Nor did the eagle-shouting Foraker forget to emphasize McKinley's Civil War record and his subsequent years in Congress. Foraker said that McKinley visited him in Cincinnati and specifically asked him to make the nominating speech and that later McKinley described the address as generous and expressed himself as well satisfied with it.³² Governor Bushnell in 1896 was to do his best in behalf of McKinley and a high protective tariff which would "afford ample protection to American industries and provide sufficient revenue to the government."³³

McKinley's acceptance speech was long and entertaining. He described his party fluently. "The party," he said in the best oratorical manner of the day, "has met every emergency, has responded to every call of the country, has performed with fidelity every duty with which it has been charged, and has successfully resisted every enemy of the Government and of the people, whether the enemy was seeking the Nation's overthrow in open war, the violation of its plighted faith, or the destruction of its industries."³⁴

The Republican platform followed McKinley's lead. It pledged its devotion to the principle of a protective tariff and described the McKinley tariff bill as the ablest expression of the protective principle. In addition, it favored the protection of agriculture, demanded safeguards for the wool industry and approved a gold and silver coinage. McKinley himself did not permit Ohioans to forget his tariff philosophy. He congratulated tobacco growers of Greenville when they protested against any change in the tariff law in 1893.³⁵

Meanwhile, the Democratic convention was being planned. In July, Ohio Democrats convened in Cleveland and there renomi-

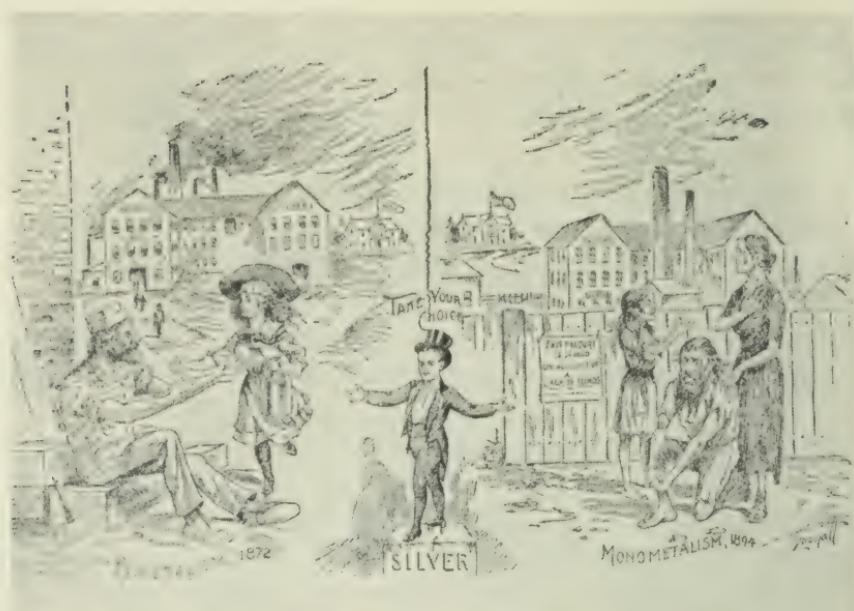
³¹ Joseph P. Smith, *History of the Republican Party in Ohio* (Chicago, 1898), I, 600.

³² Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 444.

³³ Asa S. Bushnell to Ervin Wardman, Columbus, Apr. 17, 1896, Executive Letter Book, 1896-1897, p. 127.

³⁴ Smith, *History of the Republican Party*, I, 600.

³⁵ W. McKinley, Jr., to J. I. Allread, Columbus, Mar. 24, 1893, Executive Letter Book, 1892-1893, p. 337.



21. AN ARGUMENT FOR BIMETALISM IN 1894
From *Coin's Financial School* (Chicago, 1894), 24.

nated Campbell primarily because of his record as a ballot-box reformer. The platform, as might be expected, denounced the McKinley tariff act and the principle of protection, favored a graded income tax, and demanded the reinstatement of the constitutional standard of both gold and silver with the equal right of each to free and unlimited coinage. This last plank was characterized both as "mistaken" and "mischievous" because it gave Campbell's opponents an opportunity to oppose free silver rather than to sell McKinley to the people.³⁶

Although the campaign was not as dramatic as the previous Foraker-Campbell tilt, it was not without its intensity and moments of humor. Upon one occasion Hayes introduced his "old comrade" to a Sandusky audience.³⁷ On October 8, McKinley and Campbell

³⁶ Sater, *James Edwin Campbell*, 43.

³⁷ Charles R. Williams, *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Columbus, 1922), V, 16.

met for a joint debate at Ada. The following day, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* reported the speeches in humorous verse:

"Jim and Bill put on the mits in Ada.
At the call of time, Jim shows his teeth,
Then there's a fall with Bill beneath.
The sight of blood makes Bill yell;
He goes at Jim and gives him—fits;
The bottle holders then rub them down
And Jimmie wins the final round.
Over the ropes the athletes spring,
Slightly disfigured, but still in the ring.
Says each to the other, 'I'm very sorry,'
And the band played 'Annie Laurie.'
With cannons roaring and drummers drumming,
The band then played 'The Campbells are Coming.' "

No battle of the bands, however, could insure a Democratic victory. McKinley with a bow to Mark Hanna received 386,739 votes against Campbell's 365,228. At the same time two constitutional amendments failed to carry. One involved taxation and the other called for a constitutional convention.

McKinley's first administration (he was reelected in 1893) was marked by little significant legislation. Acts were passed altering the congressional apportionment, prohibiting barbering on Sunday, providing against industrial accidents and giving better care to the insane. The Panic of 1893, however, radically challenged the conservative calm of McKinley's first term. This depression shocked McKinley as much as it did Grover Cleveland, and neither one was exactly sure what occasioned the collapse of national banks, the bankruptcy of railroads and the decrease in coal and iron production. The situation, of course, was further aggravated by droughts which reduced the national crops of wheat and corn. Unemployment, labor disputes and lean standards of living added to the picture of national misery. Cleveland blamed silver for the depression and McKinley blamed the Democratic administration.

In Ohio, strikes, lynchings and riots characterized the great unrest that the Nation was experiencing. In April, 1894, a general strike of coal miners in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois created consternation. Striking miners boarded trains, interfered with traffic, and threatened the peace. As a result, the activities of the Ohio National Guard were more extensive in operations and exacting and arduous in execution than ever before. The Governor had no hesitancy in using the militia to preserve order, but he insisted that local authority must first exhaust its own power before receiving aid. McKinley frequently watched his troops in action with all the zeal of an ex-soldier.³⁸

The first call for troops to supplement civil authority, reported the Adjutant-General, occurred on January 4, 1894, when three companies of infantry, the Toledo Cadets and a battery of light artillery were ordered to Toledo to maintain order after a great fire. Fifteen days later troops were ordered on the same mission to Springfield when the Arcade Hotel burned. Within a week a detail was ordered to duty in Cincinnati to guard the armory which had been threatened. On April 15, a company of the Second Infantry was dispatched to Rushsylvania in Logan County to protect the life of a prisoner. Within an hour after the troops had been withdrawn, however, a mob broke into the jail and hanged the prisoner. On the morning of April 28, a large number of troops moved into Mt. Sterling in order to avert trouble caused by striking miners who called themselves "Galvin's Army." These men had taken possession of sixteen railroad cars belonging to the Baltimore and Ohio and had refused to move. So great was the number of unemployed men in Cleveland that on May 2, four companies of infantry and a troop of cavalry were garrisoned in the lake city to prevent disorder. Other troops were ordered to Akron, Glouster, Clyde and New Lexington.

The largest massing of troops, however, took place in Guernsey County in June when more than three thousand officers and men took the field to preserve order. In October, when peace officers

³⁸ Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley* (New York, 1916), I, 281.

could not adequately protect a prisoner in Fayette County, the militia moved in. So intense had public feeling become, however, that at Washington Court House a mob battered down the doors of the Court House. A detail thereupon fired into the rioters, killing two and wounding about twelve others.³⁹

By 1895 unemployment, destitution and discouragement had become so prevalent among the miners of the Hocking Valley that a committee representing the Trade Labor Union of the district visited McKinley and petitioned for relief. The Governor, after receiving a further request from the mayor of Nelsonville, organized a relief expedition. The following morning, January 10, provisions were pouring into the town. Later, McKinley made a State-wide appeal for charity with the result that about ten thousand persons in the mining districts were fed.⁴⁰ It must not be thought, however, that Ohio was singularly unique in its long list of misfortunes and disasters. The Fates leered, it seemed, at the Nation during 1894 and 1895 and plagued Americans with unusual and violent storms, with floods which spread desolation and with forest fires and prairie blazes that destroyed property and took thousands of lives. Sufferers, said Foraker during the flood of 1889, needed money, beds, bedding and clothing.⁴¹ Train wrecks, riots, explosions of bombs and of natural gas and industrial accidents added to the consternation and despair of citizens.

McKinley himself faced one of the toughest and most embarrassing situations of his whole career in 1893 when financial difficulties threatened both his personal life and jeopardized his political advancement. The Governor had endorsed notes for a warm personal friend, Robert L. Walker, a banker of Youngstown. When in February Walker went into bankruptcy, McKinley felt obliged to help meet an indebtedness amounting to about \$130,000. Had it not been for the generous and complete cooperation of friends, such as Herrick and Hanna, McKinley would never have been able to carry

³⁹ *Ohio Exec. Doc., 1894*, II, 365-72.

⁴⁰ Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley*, I, 281-2.

⁴¹ J. B. Foraker to D. E. Crawford, Columbus, June 3, 1889, Executive Letter Book, 1888-1889, p. 412.

out his obligations. Such a financial entanglement gave ammunition to political enemies who pointed out that McKinley was no proper man for public office if he were unable to keep his personal finances in order.⁴²

Legislation during McKinley's second administration was relatively unimportant although the General Assembly which convened on January 1, 1894, made provision for two years' expenditures and closed the session without adjourning until the following year. As a result, for the second time during the history of the State, there was no legislative session during 1895. In addition, a measure granting limited suffrage to women was passed and later was upheld by the supreme court. Other acts included those permitting married women to act as executors or administrators of estates, enabling husbands as well as wives to sue and to obtain alimony pending divorce actions, requiring midwives and physicians to report to health officers all cases of defective vision in newly-born infants, prohibiting the transaction of business under fictitious names and requiring railroad companies to report the names and addresses of stockholders.

Meanwhile State and national politics were demanding McKinley's attention. Both Hanna and McKinley had successfully supported John Sherman for United States Senator despite the ambitions of Foraker. The march of Jacob S. Coxey's army to Washington in the summer of 1894 was a political thorn in McKinley's side. Coxey, a resident of Massillon and candidate for governor in 1895 on the Populist ticket, led a group of unemployed to the national seat of the government in the hopes of convincing administration leaders that laborers out of work might be put upon federal projects, such as building roads and constructing bridges. A further political problem developed in the Republican State Convention which met in Zanesville in May, 1895.

At that time Foraker was championing the cause of Asa S. Bushnell, a wealthy manufacturing capitalist of Springfield. The McKinley clique opposed the Springfield implement-maker un-

⁴² Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley*, I, 288-92.

successfully, and Bushnell was nominated on the sixth ballot which was then made unanimous. Democrats, meeting in Springfield in August, nominated ex-Governor Campbell who made a spirited campaign marked by vehemence and reckless speech. He charged the McKinley administration as corrupt and unworthy of the confidence of the people, described Republican "bossism" throughout the State, and blamed his opponents for the Panic of 1893. Despite Campbell's valiant efforts, Bushnell received a plurality of 92,622 votes. An overwhelming Republican legislature was elected.

Foraker, of course, was delighted, and McKinley was not displeased. Both men had fared well at the hands of the State convention. The former had been endorsed as United States Senator to succeed Calvin S. Brice, and the latter had been assured of Ohio's support for the presidency.⁴³ Even slightly caustic verse based upon Bret Harte's individualistic style amused, rather than angered, Foraker.

"Which I wish to remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark
And which give me a pain,
Joey Foraker's mighty peculiar;
Which the same I would rise to explain.

"In the scene that ensued
Uncle Mark took a hand,
And the floor it was strewed
Like the leaves on the strand
By the tricks that McK. and your uncle
Had fondly expected to land."⁴⁴

The Nation felt that Foraker had run the State convention with a "high hand" and said that he was not incapable of refusing to support McKinley in the forthcoming national convention.⁴⁵

⁴³ Smith, *History of the Republican Party*, I, 664; Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 456.

⁴⁴ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 444-5.

⁴⁵ "The Week," *Nation* (New York), LX (1895), 435.

Among the early acts of the Bushnell administration was the election of Foraker to the United States Senate on January 14, 1896.⁴⁶ During the Governor's years in office (1896-1900) little legislation of a dramatic character was passed, although many solid, constructive acts became law. In 1896, for example, the General Assembly regulated the practice of medicine and created a State Board of Medical Registration and Qualification. Other acts provided for electrocution following the death sentence, for supplying of school books at lowest possible rates, and for a State Board of Arbitration.⁴⁷ Bushnell concerned himself with the standard of living and prosperity of miners in the Sand Run and Carbon Hill districts. The legislature did not convene in 1897, but the following year a number of social acts were passed, among them several devoted to inspection of shops and factories, protection of the health of female employees and proper sanitary conditions for bakeries. In 1899, the legislature did not convene.

This did not mean, however, that political pots were not simmering and that alarming problems were not maturing. In 1897, for example, eight distinct political parties, including the Ohio State Liberty party, the State Negro Protective party and the Socialist-Labor party, had complete slates. When Senator John Sherman became secretary of state in the McKinley cabinet, Governor Bushnell appointed Mark Hanna to succeed Sherman. The resultant howl was heard throughout the State and was not quieted until 1898 when the legislature, after much jockeying, gave Hanna exactly the number of votes needed to assure him a seat in the national Senate. Charges of bribery were hurled against Hanna's supporters, and an official investigation was undertaken by the House of Representatives.

There seems little doubt that the astute Hanna was most anxious to secure the senatorial appointment and exerted as much pressure as he could upon sensitive political nerves. Foraker himself thought

⁴⁶ Asa S. Bushnell to John Sherman, Columbus, Feb. 4, 1896, Executive Letter Book, 1896-1897, p. 11.

⁴⁷ *Id.* to M. W. Whitney, Columbus, Feb. 14, 1896, *ibid.*, 1896-1897, p. 25.

that Hanna was better fitted to head a business department of the government than to assume the toga. Foraker further said that Hanna professed to have little knowledge of either domestic or international law.⁴⁸ When Foraker went to Canton to express himself on Hanna's ambitions to McKinley he found the latter so thoroughly committed to the appointment that it was impossible to dissuade him.⁴⁹ An eastern journal said that Ohio Republicans were displaying neither principle nor patriotism in the senatorial deal and described the entire situation as a "thorough exhibition of Ohio factional politics at its worst."⁵⁰

Bushnell's administration was also marked by the Urbana lynching in June, 1897, and by a series of labor riots in 1899. The Urbana uprising was occasioned by a Negro assaulting a prominent Urbana woman. After he had been arrested and sentenced to the penitentiary for life, a mob surrounded the jail which was guarded by a local company of the Ohio militia. When the mob broke courthouse windows and threatened the life of the prisoner, the militiamen killed two persons and wounded others. Governor Bushnell ordered additional reinforcements from Springfield, but the troops were told to return home. As a result, the mob again attacked the jail and hanged the prisoner.⁵¹

Cleveland was the scene of the most serious labor difficulties in 1899. On June 10, a street car strike was called, involving more than eight hundred workers. The big consolidated lines felt the full impact of the laborers' wrath. Passenger cars were dynamited, bombs were thrown, citizens were fired upon and car crews and strikers savagely fought one another. More than a thousand militiamen moved into Cleveland to preserve order and to keep the peace. The strike continued until winter set in when it was called off without being settled. Low wages and long hours continued to be the lot of street railway crews.

⁴⁸ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 498.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 500.

⁵⁰ "The Week," *Nation*, LXVI (1898), 2.

⁵¹ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1897, III, 426-39.

It was only natural, of course, that economic problems involving governmental expenses, taxation and growth of trusts, monopolies and corporations should present vexing situations that demanded solution. In 1895, a trend that presented serious difficulties had become clearly apparent. The State was expending more monies than were received. During McKinley's administration the deficit for one year was more than \$100,000. William T. Cope, treasurer of State, reported in 1895 that the decrease in receipts from liquor taxes during the previous four years had amounted to more than \$60,000.⁵² So serious, indeed, did this deficit become that in two instances the commonwealth was forced to borrow sums which amounted to \$500,000.

Proposed remedies were the obvious ones. In 1893, for example, a bipartisan tax commission, after investigation, recommended a far-reaching policy of increased taxation. A franchise tax on corporations and additional taxation on inheritances were recommended. Railroads and big business in general fought these reforms. Such opposition, however, did not alter the fact that Ohio's finances were exactly as described. "During the last ten years," the treasurer of State reported in 1894, "the receipts for the general revenue fund, arising from taxes and regular sources of revenue, have fallen short of the disbursements by more than \$1,500,000."⁵³

In the search for new sources of income, the legislature enacted a collateral inheritance tax bill that became law in January, 1893. Largely experimental in nature, this act imposed a tax of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all collateral inheritances above the sum of \$10,000. Direct heirs were not subject to the tax which excluded the following: father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, niece, nephew, lineal descendants, and adopted children. In 1894, the act was amended to increase the tax rate to five per cent and to reduce the exemption to \$200. No change was made in the list of persons considered direct heirs. At the same time, a direct inheritance tax was passed which provided that estates of over \$20,000 be subjected to a progressive

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1895, I, 641.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1894, II, 197.

tax ranging from one per cent to five per cent on estates over a million dollars.⁵⁴

The direct inheritance tax of April 20, 1894, was short-lived, for the following year it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Ohio. The court held that the exemption clause of \$20,000 and the progressive scale were in conflict with Ohio's Bill of Rights which states that all political power is inherent in the people and that "government is instituted for their equal protection and benefit."⁵⁵ As a result of this action, county and state auditors were directed to refund payments already made. No further changes in the income-tax law were made until 1904.⁵⁶ It is little wonder that, as the result of the confused tax picture, a commentator should say, shortly after the turn of the century, that "the tax system of Ohio is sapping the foundations of the Christian religion."⁵⁷

Troublesome as was Ohio's financial problem, it was not as vexing as the growth of big business and the concentration of capital. The influence of the dollar sign both in politics and industry had been recognized throughout the State for many years. Men of wealth trained in corporation law gradually had abandoned their work as attorneys to engage in business manipulation. Calvin S. Brice, Foraker, Hanna, and McKinley, all reflected the trend. The disputed election of Payne to the United States Senate had dramatically brought the influence of money-politics to the attention of citizens. The career of John D. Rockefeller and the growth of the Standard Oil Company had inspired, in many places, opposition and contempt. The reformers, Tom L. Johnson and Frederic C. Howe, were joining forces with "muckrakers" to attack what they called entrenched greed. Ida M. Tarbell and other journalists were directing heavy fire in popular magazines against the philosophy of monopolists. Cartoonists depicted prominent business men festooned in dollar signs and squeezing the soul from the workingman.

⁵⁴ Ernest L. Bogart, *Financial History of Ohio* (Urbana, Ill., 1912), 348-51.

⁵⁵ E. O. Randall, ed., "State vs. Ferris," *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Ohio* (Norwalk, 1896), New Series, LIII, 314-41.

⁵⁶ Bogart, *Financial History of Ohio*, 351.

⁵⁷ Nelson W. Evans, *A History of Taxation in Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1906), 142.

So vehement, indeed, did public opinion throughout the Nation become that, in 1890, the Congress of the United States passed the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Yet this act did not solve the corporation problems of the several states. In Ohio the Standard Oil Company was a flourishing, powerful concern that basked in the esteem of many business men and politicians. It was a blow, therefore, when in 1890, the attorney-general brought suit against the Standard Oil Company on the grounds that it was a combination in restraint of trade. Years earlier corporations had been described as run by "Money Kings, of whom there are several thousand in every country [and who] are continually destroying the substance and lives of the populations and depriving them of the usefulness and pleasures of existence, and indirectly but certainly filling millions and tens of millions of premature graves because their occupants have been stinted and oppressed by poverty and its attendant evils."⁵⁸

David K. Watson, attorney-general, commenced action against the Standard Oil Company to oust the defendant of the right to be a corporation. He claimed that the company had abused its corporate franchises by becoming a party to an agreement that was against public policy. Watson claimed that individual stockholders had handed their stock over to out-of-state trustees who administered the company. The case was heard by the Supreme Court of Ohio and was decided on March 2, 1892. The Standard Oil Company of Ohio was ordered to withdraw from the Standard Oil Company on the grounds that the latter was monopolistic. The court held further that acts of stockholders were in reality an act of the corporation. It seemed impossible, the attorney-general continued in a lengthy argument, to believe otherwise but that "there has been a studious design and effort on the part of the promotors of the trust scheme, to obtain all the advantages of the actual presence and participation of the defendant corporation in the objects and purposes of the agreement, without formally making it a party to it."⁵⁹ Chief Justice

⁵⁸ S. P. Townsend, *Our National Finances* (New York, 1868), 46.

⁵⁹ "State vs. Standard Oil Company," *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Ohio* (Norwalk, 1893), New Series, XLIX, 163.

Minshall pointedly said that a society which permitted many men to be dominated by a few was undesirable and said further that it should be the policy of the laws to increase the number of men engaged in independent business.⁶⁰ The decision was important because it ended the use of "trusts," holding them to be illegal. Standard Oil, however, immediately reorganized as a group of interlocking directorates, not under a trust agreement and soon thereafter as a holding company. As such it continued to do business in much the same way as previously.

Four years later, investigation was begun by another attorney-general, Frank S. Monnett, to determine whether the Standard Oil Company had complied with the court's ruling. Monnett believed that this was not the case and wanted the Standard Oil Company held in contempt. The case was decided by the Supreme Court in 1899 with the members of the court deadlocked as to whether or not contempt was present. Monnett continued to institute suits during his career, but few were decided before his term ended. His successor failed to press legal action against the Standard Oil Company.⁶¹

A major tactic in Standard Oil practice was secrecy. Deals were closely guarded and families of executives were kept in ignorance of business plans. It is said that Rockefeller even cautioned his executives not to divulge business information to their wives.⁶² When, however, legal actions were brought against the company, Rockefeller had many friends in high places who could bring pressure upon earnest public officials. Thus, when Watson as attorney-general of Ohio, was instituting suit against Standard, Mark Hanna intimated that less vigorous policies might eventually be to Watson's advantage.⁶³ Misleading statements and garbled testimony of witnesses all hampered effective investigation. When Frank S. Monnett,

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁶¹ "The State ex. re. Monnett vs. The Buckeye Pipe Line Co., etc.," *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Ohio* (Norwalk, 1900), New Series, LXI, 520-49.

⁶² Ida M. Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1925), II,

^{129.}

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 146-7.

Ohio's attorney-general, testified before the Industrial Commission in May, 1899, he spoke bluntly of the "secret" powers of Standard.⁶⁴

Rockefeller's business policies were said to be the subject of scandal and gossip, and it was charged that the oil czar crushed every man who ventured to compete with him. His influence was felt in the United States Congress. Senator Payne of Ohio and Senator Camden of West Virginia both intimately connected with Standard, opposed the Interstate Commerce Commission.⁶⁵ Rockefeller also was described as one of the most detested individuals in American life.⁶⁶ Not until May, 1911, did the Rockefeller interests receive a major legal setback. Then the United States Supreme Court, in a dramatic decision, ordered the oil trust dissolved and asserted that Rockefeller, six associates and a closely-knit organization had illegally seized the oil resources. It ordered the "conspiracy" disbanded by November 15.

It was only natural, of course, in this age of speculation and quick profits that other individuals and businesses should emulate the Standard Oil practices and the ethics of Rockefeller. In Ohio, Senator H. E. Valentine had long been interested in investigating careers of corporations with monopolistic tendencies. Aided by F. S. Monnett, the attorney-general, Valentine succeeded, despite strong opposition, in having a committee of the Senate appointed to investigate the so-called "trust" problem. The committee met in January, 1898, examined more than seventy witnesses, and concluded that active corporations were operating in the State in restraint of trade and using unfair competitive practices.

The committee found unfair practices in use particularly in the coal, insurance and railroad businesses. Evidences of price-fixing were uncovered in many other fields: laundries, groceries, plumbing shops, bakeries and hardware stores. A Cleveland plumber, for example, testified that he could not sell supplies to other than master

⁶⁴ United States Industrial Commission, *Pure Oil Trust vs. Standard Oil Company (Oil City, Pa., 1901)*, 166.

⁶⁵ John T. Flynn, *God's Gold: The Story of Rockefeller and His Times* (New York, 1932), 202, 282.

⁶⁶ John K. Winkler, *John D., A Portrait in Oils* (New York, 1929), 142.

plumbers, and a manager of a biscuit company in Columbus said that combination in his field was controlled from New York.⁶⁷ The investigation revealed further that residents of Ohio were spending far more than was necessary when they purchased insurance because of combinations and that the price of Hocking Valley coal was determined by a closely organized group. Small mine operators testified that large owners even tore out railroad switches to prevent them from having access to main tracks.⁶⁸

Findings of the committee resulted in the passage of the Valentine Anti-Trust law later in the year. This act, like others throughout the country, forbade combinations in restraint of trade, made illegal operations to limit or reduce production and declared any actions unfair that tended to prevent competition in the manufacture, transportation and sale of any commodity. No act of this type, of course, could prevent entirely the evils that it sought to remedy. The most to be anticipated was that the Valentine law might prove a deterrent. The act, however, was a significant piece of legislation and served to curb, if not prevent, combinations in restraint of trade.⁶⁹

While Ohio was busy during Bushnell's governorship with internal complications such as anti-trust legislation, it also was giving profound thought to national political problems. Hanna had early visioned McKinley in the White House. His protégé had, it seemed, every qualification. McKinley had a Civil War record, he championed a high protective tariff, he had served as Ohio's governor, and he enjoyed the esteem of the conservative business element. Furthermore, the ex-governor was willing to endorse a gold standard. When the Republican National Convention met in St. Louis in June, 1896, it was generally believed that "Big Business" had set the stage for McKinley's nomination. Republicans of Ohio previously had come out in favor of McKinley, and organizations in Kansas and Illinois were forming McKinley clubs. The Ohio delegates-at-large to the convention were Asa S. Bushnell, Joseph B. Foraker,

⁶⁷ Ohio Senate, *Trust Investigation*, 1898, 188, 27.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 317.

⁶⁹ United States Works Progress Administration, *The Marketing Laws Survey, State Anti-trust Laws* (Washington, 1940), 563-90 for other Ohio anti-trust laws.

Charles H. Grosvenor and Marcus A. Hanna. Two prominent Ohio journalists, Charles E. Smith and Murat Halstead, made the trip to St. Louis with Foraker who became chairman of the committee on resolutions.⁷⁰

The delicate task in St. Louis, of course, was to frame a financial plank which would satisfy Republicans of all views and yet be sufficiently powerful to defeat Democratic bimetallism. In addition, McKinley insisted that his high tariff opinions be respected. The nomination of William Jennings Bryan by the Democrats made the task no easier. Bryan was no simple-minded opponent who could be dismissed lightly. He was known as a brilliant orator who would exert every energy to champion free silver. The Republican plank, despite widespread belief that it was dictated by H. H. Kohlsaat, probably was the result of joint action beginning long before the St. Louis convocation. It seems certain that McKinley himself submitted certain suggestions, that these were worked over by Smith and Halstead, and that Hanna reviewed them and offered revisions. Senator Sherman and other party leaders made suggestions from time to time. A group of prominent New Yorkers, including Carl Schurz, submitted financial ideas of their own. Foraker was probably right when he said that the financial plank was "not the work of any one man, but a mere expression of a common sentiment, in arriving at which all aided to whom the duty of formulating an expression had been assigned."⁷¹

This financial plank which was really the heart of the Republican platform in the campaign of 1896 was astute. It came out for "sound money" and set forth the following Republican principles: "It [the Republican party] caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial

⁷⁰ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 463.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 478.

nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.”⁷² Foraker felt that the financial plank was stoutly made and that it merited the support of the party. Many persons, he said, congratulated him upon the gold plank.⁷³ As McKinley himself was not afraid of a strong plank, the Republicans seemed united on the most significant issue of the campaign.⁷⁴

Foraker placed the name of McKinley before the convention. His ringing words brought the convention to its feet in a wild demonstration of cheers and flag-waving that lasted for twenty-five minutes. The Republican party, thundered Foraker, wants “a man . . . the exact opposite of all that is signified and represented by the present free-trade, deficit-making, bond-issuing, labor-saving Democratic Administration. I stand here to present to this Convention such a man—his name is William McKinley.”⁷⁵ When John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, seconded the nomination he quoted a verse that became popular during the campaign:

“Hurrah, hurrah, we bring the jubilee;
Hurrah, hurrah, the flag that sets us free;
For this shall be our chorus from Atlanta to the Sea,
Hurrah for McKinley and Protection.”⁷⁶

The Republican’s choice was notified of his nomination by direct telephone connection between his home in Canton and the St. Louis convention hall. As he sat by his telephone, surrounded by friends and reporters, his face was grave and “there were deep fires

⁷² Smith, *History of the Republican Party*, I, 680.

⁷³ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 479.

⁷⁴ Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley*, I, 314.

⁷⁵ Smith, *History of the Republican Party*, I, 682.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 683.

in his eyes, and his intellectual pallor, always noticeable, now gave his features the stern grace of carved marble.”⁷⁷

The campaign of 1896 was turbulent. The East and West trembled under a barrage of oratory. Campaign badges appeared on lapels, and men stopped their work to argue the merits of gold and silver. The “rag-baby” controversy of earlier years was mild compared with the battle between Bryan and McKinley. Probably the most widely read piece of campaign literature was *Coin's Financial School* which “mercilessly” scourged “the money changers in the Temple of the Republic.”⁷⁸ Ohioans quoted its crisp passages and apt illustrations with devastating effect. A champion of bimetallism on every page, this handbook worked wonders for the Democratic party.

Champions of free silver argued that gold was the money of the rich and not of the poorer classes, that gold was the symbol of Wall Street and silver of the common man, that silver was still a precious metal and was not plentiful as gold advocates claimed, that silver was the most constant standard of values, that free coinage of silver would increase the price of agricultural crops, that the American workingman would benefit by free coinage, and that credit would be easier with free silver coinage. They argued finally that only free silver would ever bring sustained periods of prosperity to the farmer and the man with the dinner-pail.

After weeks of stump-speaking throughout the Nation, the campaign reached its climax, and the men of America moved in steady streams to polling places. Democrats marked their ballots with a line from Bryan's convention speech in Chicago ringing in their ears. In that mid-western city, the “Silver Knight of the West” had delivered one of the country's greatest addresses. His conclusion let loose a demonstration that lasted for sixty minutes. Brilliant and dramatic, Bryan said: “Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the labouring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer

⁷⁷ Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 486.

⁷⁸ *Coin's Financial School* (Chicago, 1894), front cover.

their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: *You shall not press down upon the brow of labour this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.*"⁷⁹

Conservatism, big business, strenuous campaigning, sound money views, and the expenditure of vast sums of money, however, proved too much for the Democrats to overcome. McKinley, another favorite son from the Buckeye State, received a national plurality of 579,000 votes. In Ohio, McKinley received 525,991 votes, and Bryan, 474,882. Ohio had become too commercial-minded and too involved in intricate finances to permit the election of a champion of the people. "Big Business" and the cause of Hanna had again triumphed. Hanna's reward was an appointment to the United States Senate.

The Spanish-American War diverted attention for a time from purely local problems in Ohio, although the State was not greatly affected by the conflict in the Pacific. McKinley had inherited the Spanish-Cuban problem from Cleveland. By that time the situation had become dangerous. The Hearst-managed New York *Journal* was stirring public emotion and an indiscreet letter written by Du-puy de Lôme, Spanish minister at Washington, was not calculated to smooth America's ruffled feathers. In his letter, the Spanish minister characterized McKinley as a cheap politician who catered to the rabble. Then on February 15, 1898, the U.S.S. *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion. Immediately, the press of the Nation flung the slogan, "Remember the *Maine*," in banner lines eight-columns wide. Ohio newspapers, like the press in general, played up the war spirit in a sensational manner, although Columbus, Cincinnati and Cleveland journals showed a "provincial antipathy" to the type of yellow journalism so common in the East.⁸⁰ In Ohio and elsewhere, the popular war song was "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." On April 25, war between Spain and the United States became official. Ohio acted promptly.

⁷⁹ Paxton Hibben, *The Peerless Leader: William Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1929), 186. Italic not Hibben's.

⁸⁰ George Auxier, "Middle Western Newspapers and the Spanish American War, 1895-1898," *M. V. H. Rev.*, XXVI (1940), 532-3 n.

Governor Bushnell immediately ordered mobilization of the armed forces of the State. Troops gathered at Camp Bushnell located near Columbus. The mustering was completed in eight days, and organization was supervised by Major General Henry A. Axline. More than 15,000 militiamen and volunteers made up Ohio's forces. The First Ohio Cavalry was the first organization to leave Camp Bushnell, it having been ordered to Camp George H. Thomas in Georgia. Other units soon followed. Only three Ohio regiments, however, saw service on foreign soil. These included the Fourth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, Colonel Alonzo B. Coit commanding, which went into action at Barrio de Las Palmas in Porto Rico. The Sixth Ohio Volunteer Infantry arrived in Cuba after the declaration of peace, and the Eighth Ohio Volunteer Infantry reached Santiago too late to take part in the siege. Two hundred and twenty-three enlisted men and seven officers died while in the service. Disease accounted for more fatalities than wounds received in battle. Although the General Assembly authorized the expenditure of a million dollars for war purposes, the actual amount spent was far less. As a matter of fact, Governor Bushnell declared that Ohio spent practically no money for military purposes.⁸¹ Foraker loudly championed the war and seemed to believe that the sinking of the *Maine* was the result of enemy action.⁸² A member of the Senate at that time, Foraker labored hard to settle the Cuban problem by war rather than by diplomacy.

The war did not hinder Ohio's prosperity. Corporations continued to increase and trusts to attempt to thwart restrictive legislation. The onward march of the dollar sign, however, did not go unchallenged. Already the still, small voices of reformers were challenging the ethics of high finance and declaring that the wedding of business and politics was an unholy alliance. Among the progressives were journalists like Lincoln Steffens who knew from first-hand experience the hard-bitten, individualistic city bosses of Ohio and who exposed their tactics in frank prose. Frederic C. Howe,

⁸¹ E. O. Randall and D. J. Ryan, *History of Ohio* (New York, 1912), IV, 418-25.

⁸² Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life*, II, 27.

inspired by the single tax program of Henry George, interested himself in reform and came to know the tricks of men like Hanna and his clique. Howe considered such individuals lawless, who ruled cities with an iron hand. Municipal reform was one of Howe's passions. He believed that Ohio's urban communities were thwarted by bad laws, rigid constitutions, and antiquated charters.⁸³ Tom L. Johnson was another who rebelled against the arrogance of the cult of power.

Johnson, curiously enough, was a wealthy monopolist and street car magnate before he was forty years of age. His interest in "privilege" was all on the privileged side until he became acquainted with George's *Progress and Poverty*, a volume that advocated the single tax. At this time Johnson was living in Cleveland and he was so impressed by George's social philosophy that he purchased several hundred copies of *Protection or Free Trade*, a new volume by George, and presented them to every minister and lawyer in Cleveland.⁸⁴ In addition, Johnson radically altered the pattern of his own life. He gave up, as he himself said, the game of business for that of life. Elected mayor of Cleveland in 1901, Johnson instituted a program of social reform. He ordered strict inspection of theaters and public buildings, cleaning of streets, provisions for better lighting, reduction of water rents, changes in the health department and the opening of public parks for the use of the people.⁸⁵ Johnson was said to have conducted the "business of Cleveland in the interest of those who own it, namely, the people of Cleveland."⁸⁶

Possessing great physical stamina and a capacity for work, Johnson accomplished more than any previous mayor. Yet he ruled with an iron hand, controlling the council almost from the beginning of his administration and exerting a magnetic personality over both political friends and foes. He was a city boss of the new order. He never objected to being called a boss, saying that bossism itself was

⁸³ Howe, *The Confessions of a Reformer*, 7, 146, 160.

⁸⁴ Tom L. Johnson, *My Story* (New York, 1911), 48, 52.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁸⁶ Brand Whitlock, "Mayor Tom Johnson," *Midland* (Cincinnati), II (1908), 9.

not an evil. What made the difference was whether a man was a good or a bad boss.⁸⁷

In Toledo, another reformer had attempted a program similar to Johnson's. Samuel M. Jones, a sucker-rod manufacturer and a renegade Republican, had been elected mayor in 1897. "Golden Rule" Jones, as he was called, threw consternation into the regular party machinery. Running on an independent ticket, he announced that he did not care to rule anyone. Citizens, he declared, must do things for themselves.⁸⁸ Inbued with the social philosophies of Walt Whitman, Tolstoy and Jesus, Jones harbored a great compassion for the poor, the weak and the underdog. He was a friend of gamblers and prostitutes; he made war on capital punishment and on the inhumanity of prisons and workhouses. He would have nothing to do with organized charity. He held that organizations of any sort blighted the spirit. He established free kindergartens, public recreation centers, free concerts and lectures and believed in short hours and good pay for city workers.

Jones was succeeded by Brand Whitlock who was described as primarily an artist and who held the same tenets as the Golden Rule mayor. Whitlock was as "pestilential" as Johnson and Jones.⁸⁹ He believed that brutality was the basis of the state, and that it was his duty to eradicate such primitive policy. Society, he argued, must aid people rather than injure them. He swept aside in Toledo third-degree methods, solitary confinement and brutal jailers. Clubs and revolvers that Jones had removed from policemen were kept from them. Unable to bear the coarseness of the world, he lived at home as much as possible, engrossed in reading and writing.⁹⁰ Whitlock knew that he was unprepared politically to govern a city like Toledo, but he dreamed of "The Free City" where foreigners and natives might live together in peace and harmony.⁹¹

This Emersonian visionary lacked the vitality to transform thriv-

⁸⁷ Carl Lorenz, *Tom L. Johnson: Mayor of Cleveland* (New York, 1911), 46-7.

⁸⁸ Howe, *The Confessions of a Reformer*, 186-7.

⁸⁹ Johnson, *My Story*, 206.

⁹⁰ Howe, *The Confessions of a Reformer*, 188.

⁹¹ Brand Whitlock, *Forty Years of It* (New York, 1914), 210, 213.

ing Toledo into the perfect city and came to hate Monday mornings when delegations plagued him with criticisms or annoyed him with anonymous letters.⁹² As time went on, he even detested the very term "reformer" saying that it meant an individual without humor, pity, mercy, and without knowledge of life or of human nature. He brought his four terms in office to an end weary and disillusioned. His "mortal sickness of a mind" prompted him to the conclusion that too great stress was laid by men upon mere political activity and not sufficient attention paid to acquiring freedom.⁹³ In reality, the politician had again triumphed over the reformer and humanitarian. Progressivism was not to see its real victories until after the turn of the century.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 231.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 368, 369-70.

The Pattern of Life

THE people of Buckeyeland derived pleasure from many sources. The architecture of their homes and public buildings was a satisfaction, their interior decorations gave pleasure, their gowns and fashions appealed to varying degrees of vanity and their amusements and sports helped make life worth living.

Architectural taste reached its nadir in Ohio, as elsewhere in the Nation, in 1876, the year of the great Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. By then the State had forgotten the simple structures of the classical period and had begun to recover from the influence of two architectural plagues—the Victorian Gothic and the French style of the Third Empire. The era of bad taste hit Ohio about the same time that big business dominated politics and a check book passed a man into high society. The bigger the bank balance, the greater the man. In architecture, the more elaborate the home, the wealthier was its inhabitant. Size and gingerbread counted, not simplicity of line and harmony of design.

In Middletown, Columbus and Dayton, as well as in the larger urban centers, men of wealth lived in houses of the Victorian Gothic design. Many still stand as memorials to the “parvenu” period.¹ They are distinguished by their narrow porches, high towers with slate roofs, chimneys with buttresses, jig-saw brackets, and high, narrow windows. High ceilings, narrow halls and marble fireplaces all testified to much wealth and little taste.

The French style was little better and was just as well liked. Its distinguishing characteristic was the mansard roof and the always-present cupola. Not infrequently bay windows, oriels and portecocheres added to the general appearance of massiveness. The facade

¹ Thomas E. Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America* (New York, 1927), chap. 6.

was topped by a high cornice. The cupola, of course, was the mark of gentility and wealth. There was no reason for its existence, but it stood proudly aloof as the outward sign of much inward cash. The style became so popular that it was adopted for many types of public buildings. Architects altered it to suit their taste until by 1880 it was difficult, indeed, to find a really true specimen of the Third Empire in the United States. Nevertheless, the distinguishing marks were always present. No one dared to delete the mansard and remove the cupola!

As late as the turn of the century architectural handbooks still carried modifications of both the Victorian Gothic and the French style of the Third Empire.² In Cleveland, Cincinnati and Akron stood solid structures with mansards, high roofs and cupolas. It was not long, however, before these distinguishing characteristics gave way to another architectural innovation. The parvenu period with its interiors of black walnut, floors of soft wood and door panels of sand-blasted scrolls was shoved into the background by the work of one man.

H. H. Richardson, handsome, tall and gracefully built, a product of Louisiana, influenced the course of American building. It was he who introduced the Romanesque Revival from 1876 to 1893. In 1877, Richardson had completed Trinity Church in Boston. His fame was then assured, and hundreds of public buildings were modeled after the style he created. He designed the Chamber of Commerce building in Cincinnati, just as he drew plans for the Law School of Harvard University, the Pittsburgh Court House and the Marshall Field wholesale store in Chicago.

The Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce structure exemplified Richardson's theory of design. He relied primarily upon a romantic and picturesque mass conceived in heavy stone and rendered impressive by the use of extremely steep roofs, clustered windows and deeply-arched doorways and windows.³ Yet the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce building did not represent Richardson at

² Herbert C. Chivers, *Artistic Homes* (St. Louis, 1903), 675, 801.

³ Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, Feb. 12, 1889.

his best. Its towers were too tall and narrow and added nothing in the way of decoration. Even the roof was so broken up by dormers that it failed to bring the entire structure together as a harmonious whole.⁴ He sought to create the sense of the artistic by first emphasizing dignity and strength. He died in 1886 before the Cincinnati structure was completed and one year before the invention of the skeleton iron frame which made the American skyscraper possible. It would be interesting, indeed, to know what this versatile architect would have done had he known of the iron frame. No one could compare the Chamber of Commerce building with the Cincinnati postoffice without realizing the superiority of genuine Richardson planning over that of imitators.⁵ When the new Cincinnati morgue of 1886 was compared with either the commerce building or the postoffice, it was easy to see how poor some structures could be from an artistic point of view.⁶ The building occupied by Spitzer and Company, a Toledo banking house, was equally atrocious. The Warner Hall building of the Conservatory of Music at Oberlin, on the other hand, was reminiscent of the Romanesque influence as were Steele High School in Cincinnati and the main building of the Massillon State Hospital.⁷ In Cleveland, the residence of S. T. Everett exemplified the Romanesque, while in Cincinnati the George B. Cox home was the same style gone somewhat modern.

The interiors of homes done in the Romanesque manner were apt to be unusually ornate with emphasis upon grilles, spindles and turned woodwork. Golden oak was the wood of the day, and it was used with little discretion. Wainscots were panelled in an elaborate fashion and golden oak cornices and golden oak beams broke up ceilings into distressing patterns. As much of the furniture was also of golden oak, the total effect of a Romanesque room was apt to be overpowering. A typical home of the period was that of the

⁴ Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times* (New York, 1936), 281.

⁵ *The United States Mail* (Cincinnati), Mar., 1885.

⁶ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, May 29, 1886.

⁷ C. S. Van Tassel, *The Book of Ohio* (Bowling Green, 1901), II, 526, 570, 575.

Reverend Charles H. Payne, of Delaware. It possessed a turret, a gabled roof, and much interior turned woodwork.⁸

The Richardson revival of the Romanesque influenced Ohio ecclesiastical architecture as well as that of public buildings and private homes, but a profound change had manifested itself in general style. Instead of tall spires and narrow windows, the Romanesque church became square and squat. An ugly tower replaced the spire, and square windows with biblical scenes were substituted for the narrow frames. The interior was also square with rows of pews running in a semicircle. The woodwork was—golden oak! Akron contributed one innovation which became known as the "Akron Sunday School Plan." Radial class rooms opened from floor and gallery into one or more large assembly rooms. In this manner, portions of the church could be closed for particular purposes and thrown into one large room whenever large crowds were to be accommodated.

The World's Fair at Chicago in 1893 stimulated American architecture still further, but put an end to the Richardson era. The return to the classical was seen by many Ohioans as they witnessed the colorful palaces, glistening fountains, shining lagoons, and sparkling terraces, walks, and bridges of the "Great White Way." The influence exerted was tremendous. Architects again became convinced of the purity of the Classic mode. Ohio building witnessed a gradual return to forms popular before the Civil War.⁹

Carpenter-builders and architects of Ohio accepted the columned simplicity of the classical renaissance with reluctance, but they usually utilized strong horizontal features culminating in a cornice at the top of a building. The result was a curious mixture, in many instances, of both the classical and the colonial. Hundreds of homes throughout the State were designed with white columns, a cornice and blinds or shutters painted green. The result was not displeasing. Eclecticism was in the air and builders were attempting a variety of forms. One need only to compare the Toledo Public Library,

⁸ *Cincinnati Building Review*, Dec. 15, 1884.

⁹ I. T. Frary, *Early Homes of Ohio* (Richmond, Va., 1936), *passim*.

typically Romanesque, with the residence of D. R. Locke ("Petroleum V. Nasby") to see the general trend toward the classical.¹⁰

The years from 1893 until 1917 saw the development of the modern office building in Ohio and elsewhere throughout the Nation. Its characteristics were pronounced. The pioneer skyscraper usually was constructed with a two-story base and then a transition to a shaft which began at the third floor. Horizontal bands frequently ran around the building between stories. A cap or row of columns or pilasters and a cornice completed the structure. The Reibold Building in Dayton was a modification of this style as was the Wyandotte Building in Columbus.¹¹ In Cleveland, the New England Building followed this tradition, and in Cincinnati, the Union Savings and Trust Company showed the same distinguishing characteristics.

The eclectic spirit also developed a variety of curious designs for homes. In Ohio, small-scale Norman castles, pseudo-English cottages, and Swiss chalets were built and occupied in the belief that these forms of architecture were both "modern" and "progressive." Architects' handbooks were filled with curious designs. Nothing could be more hideous, it seems, than a Fond Du Lac cottage or an English cottage as depicted with gingerbread, bulges, and disproportionate lines.¹² When these homes were crowded with heavy furniture, decorated with artificial roses under glass domes, and jammed with sea shells, arrow heads and bric-a-brac, the ultimate had been reached in the unartistic.¹³ Architecture had rid itself of either the "beautiful" or the "useful"—terms which earlier builders had reverenced.¹⁴ Even the octagonal house, common throughout southern Ohio before 1860, fell into disrepute despite the fact that it was a native American design and useful as well as attractive.¹⁵

¹⁰ Van Tassel, *The Book of Ohio*, II, 885, 893.

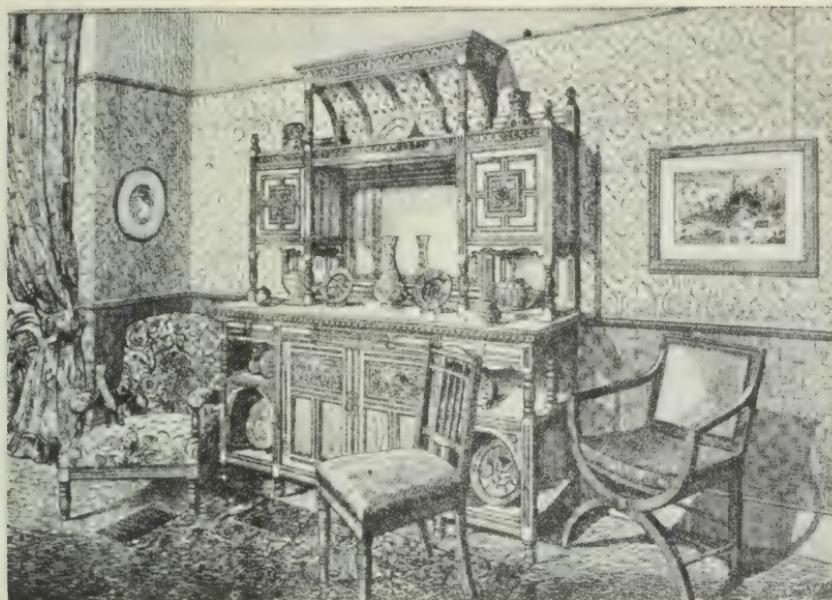
¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 916, 964.

¹² Chivers, *Artistic Homes*, 228, 229.

¹³ A. F. Bemis and John Burchard, *The Evolving House* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), I, 314-5.

¹⁴ A. J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Homes* (New York, 1850), 8-9; Catharine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home* (New York, 1869), *passim*.

¹⁵ O. S. Fowler, *A Home for All . . . Octagon Mode of Building* (New York, 1854), 82-108.



22. AN INTERIOR OF AN OHIO HOME OF THE BRIC-A-BRAC PERIOD
Covington Collection, Miami University Library.

The mass of the people, however, were little influenced by changing styles of architecture. Many of them lived in plain, rectangular homes built of lumber and unadorned by fancy grillwork or paint trim. Their lawns were not closely trimmed and no iron deer gazed down gravelled drives to handsome entrance gates. Warmth came from coal stoves and cooking was done on wood or coal ranges. Middle-class homes aped the prevailing fashions of interior decoration. Golden oak was as apt to be found in the home of the clerk as in that of the businessman. Row upon row of modest frame houses lined the streets of Ohio towns. In them lived the workingman and his family. Drab and cheerless, in many instances, these homes were the citadel of the people.

The poor existed in tenement houses. In Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus and Toledo slums varied in size from a few blocks to entire districts. A Cincinnati clergyman estimated that three hun-

dred tenants lived in ninety-five rooms in "Old Missouri," Cincinnati's outstanding tenement. Children played in public streets, some families lived underground, and scores of persons drew water from a common hydrant which frequently froze during winter months. Tenement conditions were similar throughout the State.¹⁶

In 1881, a newspaper graphically described slum conditions:

"In dingy wretchedness, in squalid poverty, in narrow, confined rooms, destitute of ventilation, reeking with foul odors of cooking, filth, sewer-gas, decomposing vegetable matter, ten thousand denizens of Cincinnati live and have their being. They live in tenement houses. Their homes are immense brick, or more often wooden structures that tower upward five or six stories, owned by rapacious or extravagant proprietors, and managed by unscrupulous and exacting agents, who know that the greater the rents the larger their commissions, the better satisfaction they give their employers. Some are huge tumble-down structures, with narrow, dark and dingy entrances. The rooms are small, illly ventilated, badly lighted, and yet in them are found families of five, six and seven people, sometimes four beds in a room, containing people living together in promiscuous confusion, regardless of sex or age. Children of the tenderest years grow habitually accustomed to the grossest sights, and their ears from babyhood feed upon the vilest, foulest epithets and language that are made up of the sweepings and refuse of all others. . . . The meanest offices of life and all the necessities of nature are unavoidably open to the impudent and prurient gaze of all. What is everybody's business is nobody's business, and while everyone dirties the halls, no one cleans them."

After carefully inspecting the jerry-built architecture of Diamond Alley, Gilligan's Barracks, the Museum Building, and the Broadway Hotel, the horrified journalist concluded that the tenement house system would continue "so long as preachers and priests teach that people have a right to bring more children into the world than they can care for."¹⁷

¹⁶ Dudley Ward Rhodes, *Creed and Greed* (Cincinnati, 1879), 122-3.

¹⁷ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Aug. 11, 1881.

Rural architecture followed a variety of styles. Prevailing modes exerted little influence when a farmer decided to build a new home. In the first place, the average farmer employed a carpenter-builder rather than an architect. In the second place, little emphasis was placed upon needless artistry. The farmer usually constructed a practical home. Utility, not beauty, was the watchword. Then again there was relatively little building in rural areas as compared with urban communities. In Ohio, as elsewhere throughout the Nation, generations succeeded one another in the old homestead. Building frequently consisted only in remodeling to meet the demands of a growing family. These old homes followed a variety of architectural patterns. Some showed traces of the Old South; others gave evidence of Pennsylvania backgrounds; and still more reflected the individual bents of their builders.

Attempts were made, however, to stimulate the Ohio farmer to build in conformity with good taste. In 1872, the State Board of Agriculture awarded a premium to U. C. Deardorff, Tuscarawas County, for a model farm home. Like most "model" homes, it was far too elaborate and expensive for the average farmer in Ohio. The estimated cost of \$2,900 covered the traditional frame "square-box" type of structure. The architect, however, said that its utility was great. He claimed that the home as planned would be well ventilated, that it would heat adequately with the exception of "over the hall and back of bath room," that the living room was large and cheerful, and that there was economy of pantry and cupboard space. A special feature was a smoke room with a revolving pivot upon which to hang hams.¹⁸ Few farms, indeed, could be described as having a "comfortable residence, handsomely located at the intersection of two roads, on a finely shaded knoll, a few rods back from the street, [where the house was] of cottage style, and all about it [had] the air of intelligent comfort and thrift."¹⁹

The Ohio home became progressively more modern during the years following the Civil War. National trends in interior decora-

¹⁸ *Ohio Agr. Rep.*, 1872, 333-4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1877, 260.

tions were reflected and aped throughout the State. Mechanical contrivances were being introduced to lighten housework and to furnish amusement. Cherry chests, corner cupboards and bedsteads were discarded for prevailing styles furnished by mail-order houses. Pioneer simplicity gave way to the garish mode common to the eighties and nineties. Brussels carpets replaced the hand-woven rug and brocaded spreads were substituted for the dated coverlet. Homes looked a trifle cheap.

The square frame house in which many Ohioans lived frequently consisted of an entrance hall with rooms on either side. To the left as one entered was the front parlor. Immediately behind the parlor was the sitting room. To the right of the entrance hall was a down-stairs bedroom and behind it was a dining room. Behind the dining room was a kitchen. Bedrooms, a bath and perhaps a sewing room occupied the second floor. There were modifications of this floor plan, of course, but most houses of the middle-class were arranged on this general pattern. Frequently the dining room was behind the front parlor, and the sitting room was to the right of the entrance hall.

In the narrow entrance stood a hall tree of golden oak which was set-off with a German bevel mirror, four double hat hooks and an umbrella holder. Under its hinged seat reposèd the family's overshoes. The "Blizzard" was the best storm rubber for women; children wore heavy buckle Arctics; and men had a choice of rubber sandal styles at sixty cents a pair. The hall tree concealed them all, as well as broken toys, an odd roller skate and a bat and ball.

The typical parlor of the eighties, however, was the pride of a household even though it was opened for use only upon specified occasions such as weddings, funerals, meetings of the sewing circle, or when the minister called. An ingrain carpet of oak and brown with a scroll and floral pattern covered the floor and blended with light brown wallpaper with designs of autumn leaves. Draperies matched carpet and wallpaper and were of figured silkaline. When less swank was desired curtains were of white dotted Swiss or muslin. Standing stiffly against the walls was a parlor suite—two chairs and

a sofa richly upholstered in damask or brocatelle. A Turkish tufted couch, upholstered in red kaiser plush and richly trimmed with heavy rope drapery and large tassels, occupied another wall. In the center of the room stood a library table made from quarter-sawed oak. An ornate runner ran the length of the table and on the cloth lay a self-pronouncing family Bible and a stereoscope. Neatly arranged on the oval shelf beneath the table were sets of stereoscopic views of Yellowstone Park, Western sporting scenes, pictures of interesting places in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, intriguing places in Chicago, and exciting sporting scenes of duck shooting, deer hunting, canoeing and camping. On the marble mantle over the fireplace stood an elegant, carved walnut clock with an eight-day strike and a calendar showing the month, day of month and day of the week. It was flanked on either side by a wax red rose in a glass tube blown at the Chicago Fair or brought back from the Philadelphia Centennial.

Between the front windows a brass stand with onyx top held a maiden-hair fern. On the walls hung family portraits and an oil painting of a castle (Sears, Roebuck, 90¢) in a four-inch frame, gold leaf mouldings in raised figures and pebbled surface. The room was lighted by a thirty-one inch Rochester Banquet lamp finished in gold. Standing on a cast iron base a cupid with curly hair and out-spread wings held aloft a lamp of gold filigree with a fringed and tasseled shade. It was an inspiring ornament. Such a room reflected the taste of middle-class Ohioans and was representative of an era of execrable domestic decorating.

The sitting room where most of the family activities took place was apt to have a huge oval table in its center around which the children did their sums after twilight. A central draft metal lamp shed light over schoolbooks and mending. Odd straight chairs with cane seats supported tired backs. Near the many-tiered Windsor heating stove which was self-feeding and base heating was a large rocking chair reserved for the head of the house. On the walnut sewing machine a silk plush work basket spilled thread, tape and pins. The floor was bare and the wallpaper probably a dark brown.

A home-made window stand held potted plants. Curtains were white muslin stiffly starched. On an oak pedestal was the only object of art in the room. A plaster Roger's group common throughout the period showed a sentimental Pilgrim group entitled "The Elder's Daughter."

Bedrooms were generally furnished in walnut suites or with brass beds. Solid oak screens hid that indispensable convenience—the commode. A Japanese toilet stand with japanned tin wash bowl, pitcher, and soap cup completed the furnishings. Pink roses decorated the wall and throw rugs lay upon the floor. In the washroom were a japanned hip bath, bath tub, or foot tub. Water was heated in the kitchen and carried upstairs by the bucket. In the recessed cupboard were combs, brushes and simple remedies. A bottle of Hostetter's Stomach Bitters was used frequently.

The kitchen, perhaps, was the most livable room in the house. Heat and warmth emanated from the six-hole grand Windsor range. The poplar floor shone with many scrubbings. Walls were usually painted gray and red-checked curtains lent color. Built-in cupboards held frying pans, large, round cake griddles, and gray enameled vessels. The tin coffee pot and the iron tea kettle sent out fragrant odor and steam. Near the tin wash basin rested a piece of homemade soap and a coarse towel. Close by lay a bar of Pear's soap ("It's praises are heard and echoed everywhere") used exclusively on Sundays and holidays. Dishes used daily were of plain white stone china. A hundred and forty-three pieces, including soup and sauce tureens, could be purchased for thirteen dollars. It was a fortunate middle-class family, indeed, which possessed a set of Alhambra china in olive green and illuminated with gold designs. Dishes such as these were used only on festive occasions. Attached to the kitchen wall were a salt box, a spice cabinet and the ever-present coffee mill. A slaw cutter and a fly swatter hung from nails not far from an almanac which dangled from a string. In the center of the kitchen table was a Huntington five-bottle caster and a sugar sifter. A spoon holder and a covered butter dish completed the arrangement.

Pantries were well stocked with staples. Many families purchased

in quantities rather than in small lots. Tea, coffee, shredded cocoanut, canned fruits and vegetables, salted codfish, herring and mackerel, rice, gloss starch and twenty-pound boxes of soda crackers filled shelves. Hood's Sarsaparilla ("sharpens the appetite and builds up the system") was a favorite among children and was a popular beverage until the turn of the century. A home medicine case containing twenty-four remedies retailed for only \$2.50 and included a complete book of instructions.

The cost of living in Ohio in 1874 varied, of course, from community to community, but average prices paid by Buckeyes indicate something of their budget problems. Roast beef sold at $12\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ a pound while mutton chops were retailed at 13¢ and salt pork was priced the same. Potatoes were 92¢ a bushel, butter was listed at 27¢ a pound and beans were $9\frac{1}{2}$ ¢. Milk was 6¢ a quart and eggs 20¢ a dozen. Men's boots cost \$4.60 a pair, brown shirting brought 11¢ a yard, and Merrimac prints sold for 10¢ a yard. A four-room tenement apartment rented for \$8.92 a month.²⁰ The total average weekly expenses of a family of workers in Dayton in 1874 ran about \$8.50 while in Cincinnati the figure was \$7.97 for two adults and two children. In Steubenville a family of three adults and four children could live for \$23.59 a week.²¹

In general, it was attested that "the masses of working people throughout the country occupy comfortable homes, enjoy an abundance of good food and comfortable clothing, with opportunity for a common-school education for their children, and possess a degree of personal independence not enjoyed on a large scale by any other laboring population on the face of the globe."²²

Ohio styles and fashions followed the national mode. Along Cleveland's Euclid Avenue, Cincinnati's Vine Street, and Columbus's High Street tripped wasp-waisted ladies decorated with frills and flounces and trailed by sweeping skirts. A neat walking-dress, in vogue during the early seventies, was a green and blue plaid poplin

²⁰ Edward Young, *Labor in Europe and America* (Philadelphia, 1875), 805.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 815.

²² *Ibid.*, 821.



23. FASHIONS DURING THE SEVENTIES AND EIGHTIES
Covington Collection, Miami University Library.

creation. The bottom of the skirt was scalloped, as was a deep flounce. The coat of black velvet was trimmed with lace and was open just below the waist. It was gathered in the back and trimmed with two very large bows of black silk. Evening gowns were of lavender-colored crepe over lavender-colored silk, or of white muslin over cherry-colored silk.

Children were dressed like their parents. A correctly attired small boy wore jacket and trousers of dark-gray cloth cut in the Knickerbocker style, and a little girl appeared in a dress of white pique, trimmed with heavy English embroidery and tied with a mauve silk sash. The hair was crimped and fell loose, but was fastened behind with a black velvet bow. Flounces, puffs and paniers became popular long before 1880. Paniers, however, were extremely stylish during the eighties. They were overskirts pulled together at the hips or back by a bustle. In 1869, *Peterson's Magazine* said that large paniers

were ungraceful. "One can get over the difficulty, though still remaining in the fashion, by wearing upon a single skirt a very wide sash, with a large bow with hoops. This is elegant, and shows off a small waist."²³

A wag commenting upon the fashions of 1870 ridiculed the prevailing Eugenie style saying, "It has been discovered that since Eugenie some months ago graciously yielded to advancing years and loosened her corsets, the rest of womankind have done likewise, and, as a result, female mortality decreased 18½ per cent. Sorry record of the chignons! Since it has become imperative for every lady of style to load her head with a wad of false hair cerebral fevers have increased 72¾ per cent."²⁴ The contemporary fashion of tightly tied-back skirts, tight waists and enormous bustles was called by critics "Black Crookism."²⁵

Despite such criticism, Ohio ladies continued to endorse larger paniers and more enduring bustles. Bouffant dresses and huge paniers required great quantities of material. A walking costume of 1887 called for some fifteen yards of cloth twenty-two inches wide.²⁶ This extreme style gradually was replaced by the leg-o'-mutton sleeve which became the rage by 1896. The change in costume is aptly illustrated by the wife of Governor Joseph B. Foraker. Mrs. Foraker remembered Lucy Webb Hayes wearing a black velvet dress with hoops during the seventies, and she recalled the pink and green costume of Mrs. Fred Grant during the next decade.²⁷ The insistence of American women upon a slender waist prompted a persistent witticism of the gay nineties. R. V. Culter's cartoon of the slender daughter surrounded by the sorrowing members of her family was captioned: "A family liability in the buxom nineties—the daughter who is too slender ever to be stylish."²⁸ The balloon sleeve fashion, popular in Ohio as elsewhere, was declared a boon

²³ "Fashions for November," *Petersen's Magazine* (Philadelphia), LV (1869), 395–6.

²⁴ *Cleveland Leader*, Mar. 11, 1870.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1875.

²⁶ A. M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City* (New York, 1933), 148–9.

²⁷ Julia B. Foraker, *I Would Live It Again* (New York, 1932), 70, 119.

²⁸ *Life* (New York), LXXXV (1925), 22.

to timid swains. "For it was indeed a hopeless case if any faint-heart could manage to stay tongue-tied after complying with the request, 'Please stuff my sleeve in.' " ²⁹

Gentlemen of the eighties and nineties wore beards and mustaches, buttoned themselves into dicky shirts, wore striped trousers, carried canes and gloves, and tipped high hats when dressed for formal occasions. Their straw hats were of fine grain and thinly woven. Their shoes were high cut with pointed toes.³⁰ Spring styles for "gents" demanded a derby or soft hat as "modesty is the prevailing characteristic of everything that men will wear on their heads this spring."³¹ In winter, men wore fleece-lined underwear, dark woolen suits, heavy socks, and ulsters or mackintoshes with single or double capes.³² Gents' and ladies' flannel undervests retailed in country stores from sixty-nine cents to \$1.50. Other red and grey flannel garments were available.³³ Overcoats were of heavy broadcloths or Kerseys and were worn for years. Carefully put away in camphor during summer months, staunch overcoats sometimes were handed down from father to son.

The bicycle profoundly affected women's styles. Manufacturers desired to make bicycles safe for the long dresses. That was almost impossible. Gradually, women themselves began to wear shorter skirts weighed down with small lead pellets. Lawn tennis and basketball modified styles still further. No longer were active women obliged to use fancy "clutches" in order to lift their skirts gracefully. Among these freakish skirt holds were the "Two Hand Clutch," the "Heel Lift," and the "Grand Dive."³⁴ Ankle-length skirts for inclement weather, commonly called "rainy-daisies," became popular among the more daring, but the conservative still clung to frilly clothes in the garden party tradition. "It was indeed a pretty sight," gushed a society editor, "attending a recent lawn

²⁹ *Ibid.*, LXXXIX (1927), 20.

³⁰ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, June 4, 1893.

³¹ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Mar. 23, 1890.

³² *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1898.

³³ *Oxford (Ohio) News*, Jan. 18, 1890.

³⁴ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Apr. 13, 1890.

fete, to see all the pretty maidens in their dainty costumes and hats, which this year are perfect flower gardens. The colors are gayer than ever: the lettuce and pear-greens, vivid blues, pinks of all shades, yellows and reds all played an important part, while the whites, both cream and pearl, were more prominent than ever before.”³⁵

The rage which swept the country, of course, was determined by the drawings of Charles Dana Gibson. About the time of the Chicago World’s Fair, the “Gibson Girl” appeared as black and white drawings upon the walls of Ohio homes. The neat skirt and starched shirtwaist of the slender Gibson Girl was a radical departure from the buxom, many-yarded and frilled flirt of a quarter-century earlier. The Gibson drawings, *His Love, You Are Going on a Long Journey*, and others, hung upon many walls in Ohio and stimulated not only the dress, but also the social manners of women. The Gibson style marked a decided step in the fashion emancipation of women.

As the twentieth century drew closer, styles became simpler. Women were being urged to purchase warm jackets which looked cool, and to carry button jackets and muffs.³⁶ Autumn millinery of various shapes and garniture were adorned with ostrich plumes. “This is emphatically a feather season,” opined the *Oxford News*, “long ostrich plumes leading, with a close following of wings, quills, and whole birds. Glittering ornaments of all kinds are in great request. So are chiffon, lace, and jet ornaments. Paradise plumes and cock’s feathers are also waving their influence over our millinery, and the bandeau, which continues to be indispensable at the side of the hats, is frequently covered with roses of silk and velvet.”³⁷

Rural styles and those of the workingman’s family were not as elaborate as the fashions of the cities. Many farm women eagerly awaited the arrival of the *Ohio Farmer* in order to glimpse the new Demorest patterns. The wife of the common man of Ohio sent for

³⁵ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1890.

³⁶ *Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch*, Jan. 2, 4, 1897.

³⁷ *Oxford News*, Oct. 29, 1897.

patterns and laboriously made her own clothes and those of her children. The Newhall basque for street wear was described as a neat and stylish costume. Suggested materials were light green and gray mixed goods and tweeds, creviates and serges. A Vivien Skirt had six gores, and measured about four and a half yards around the bottom. Two side-plaits and a Shirred back added style. A deep facing of haircloth or crinoline on the bottom of the skirt was suggested. Two frocks, the Bertha and the Fulton, were recommended for girls. Boys were not forgotten. Demorest patterns suggested the "ever popular blouse and knee-trousers' suit for mothers [who] never fail to recognize its convenience and simplicity."³⁸

Ohio farm women were told in 1897 that plain colors predominated in wool dress goods, and that corduroy, although heavy, was used for shirt-waists. Strings had entirely disappeared from bonnets and the ribbon stock was tied in front rather than at the back of the neck. An Ohio farm wife, born in 1889 on the Wayne Trace Road, vividly recalls boys' rural styles of her girlhood. Boys wore plaid skirts or kilts until they were as old as four years. A fluting iron crimped the white collars which boys wore with a large bow tie. High topped, button shoes were for Sunday use. School boots were leather with brass caps on their toes.³⁹

The coming of the automobile altered styles still more. Fashionable and wealthy Ohioans now "motored" and disguised themselves in goggles, gauntlets, and linen-dusters. The nifty, little livery stable "rig" with its red wheels and rubber tires gave way to modernity. Styles changed, too. The days had passed when a "shiny nose meant a respectable woman."⁴⁰

Manners kept pace with fashion. Etiquette no longer was the staid, proper observances of custom prevalent during the seventies and eighties. Personal deportment underwent a revolution. The many manuals of conduct, common before and after the Civil War, were consulted less and less. Now brave young women, defiant in

³⁸ *Ohio Farmer*, Jan. 7, 14, 28; Apr. 29, 1897.

³⁹ Interview with Mrs. James C. Erwin, Oxford, Ohio.

⁴⁰ *Life*, LXXXV (1925), 23.

long black stockings, flaring bloomers and middy blouses, shot baskets with the callous aplomb of a prize fighter. Shocking bathing suits, reaching just below the knees, were seen on public beaches. Even chaperons were pushed into a social limbo. The late nineties witnessed the last public appearance of the elaborate vest pocket toothpick.

Despite evidence of a new liberalism, proper social manners still were approved by the genteel. They firmly believed that "civility, refinement and gentleness are passports to hearts and homes, while awkwardness, coarseness and gruffness are met with locked doors and closed hearts."⁴¹ They understood that the "cut direct" which was given by a prolonged stare, if justified at all, "can only be in case of extraordinary and notoriously bad conduct." They were perfectly aware that a soup plate should never be tilted for the last spoonful and that cheese was eaten with a fork and not with a knife. They knew that ladies never spoke to strange men upon the street, that puns were always regarded as vulgar, and that no gentleman should go into "the presence of ladies smelling of tobacco."⁴² How shocked the older generation was when Ohio newspapers began inserting personal notices. In 1880, Cincinnatians read the following: "A Refined lady desires the acquaintance of an elderly gentleman; only one of honor and refinement need apply." Another advertisement caught the eye. "Dressmaker: If you desire the acquaintance of gent whom you noticed on Fifth St., and afterward on Vine St., please address, F. B. L., Enquirer Office."⁴³

Amusements were as varied as the tastes of the people. Elaborate balls with midnight suppers entertained wealthy manufacturers and bankers. The poor contented themselves with cold cuts and foaming steins in restaurants and cafes where the only music was a German orchestra and where red-checked cloths took the place of Flemish lace. In the country, the farmer amused himself in town on Saturday night, attended church suppers, and went to lodge picnics. The

⁴¹ John H. Young, *Our Deportment* (Detroit, 1882), 21.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 268.

⁴³ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Jan. 1, 1890.

Sunday afternoon ride in the family surrey with the fringed top was ritual with thousands of Ohio families.⁴⁴ In parks, children and adults skated. The bicycle-built-for-two, of course, combined exercise with opportunity for fun and courtship. The workingman frequently dropped in at a favorite corner saloon after a day's work to meet friends and relax. Children rolled huge hoops, played in city gutters and pulled taffy in ample kitchens. Civil War veterans met in annual encampments and were entertained by governors and their ladies. Theaters and opera houses did thriving business. In Cincinnati, the annual musical festival attracted thousands. In Cleveland, a roller-skating rink intrigued performers of the eighties. Ohio's amusements were colorful and many.

No person better understood the social life of Ohio than did the engaging Julia Foraker. Her colorful descriptions of receptions, teas, dinners and informal afternoon affairs give interest and meaning to Ohio's society until past the turn of the century. She remembered a charming reception given President and Mrs. Hayes in 1879 at the William S. Groesbeck home in Cincinnati; she recalled a house party during the eighties where two thousand guests arrived for afternoon tea; and she described a dinner in 1889 at the governor's house when two guests faced one another for the first time since they had been in Libby Prison twenty-five years earlier.⁴⁵

Most Ohioans, of course, entertained more simply, and their tastes were those of the common people. Their lives were far from monotonous. Even in industrial districts where "kids" played hide-and-seek in back lots and over high fences, where slatternly women gawked from fire escapes, and where hulks of men smoked and dozed in doorways, there was amusement. After midnight, saloons teemed with life. "It was an old story," said an inquiring reporter. "Everybody drinking beer, puffing bad cigars and trying to listen to the music. There were politicians and professional men, rounders and clerks, toughs and terrors. Somehow nearly everyone had succeeded in securing for the evening a female companion whose most notice-

⁴⁴ *Life*, LXXXV (1925), 13.

⁴⁵ Foraker, *I Would Live It Again*, 73, 84, 139.



24. HIGH SOCIETY LEARNS THE NEW GAME OF PING-PONG
Harper's Weekly, May 10, 1902.

able characteristics were evidently frailty, brazeness and capacity for the malt beverage. Good humor generally prevailed and ribald jests went the round of the tables.”⁴⁶

Concert gardens in larger cities offered enthusiastic patrons “beer and music and cheese and dancing, and beer and a little more beer.” Talent was as simple as the refreshments. Brother and Sister variety acts were numerous, and female impersonators delighted audiences with “Little Annie Rooney” or “Slide Kelley, Slide.” Waiters sometimes doubled as acrobats, tossing eleven steins of beer and five frankfurters with the assurance of professional actors. “Over the Rhine,” as the German region in Cincinnati was known, was described as a mecca sought by all fun-lovers. “There is something refreshing in the atmosphere of that delightful region,” wrote an enthusiastic visitor, “whether it be the savory odor of Limberger, the aroma arising from the wienerwurst can, the vapors wafted from

⁴⁶ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Mar. 9, 1890.

the open sidewalk drains, or the tortured strains of murdered Strauss, Offenbach, or other composers that carry the mind back to the Vaterland.”⁴⁷

In 1893, the Vine Street slope to the Ohio River was jammed with people anxious to crowd upon two river steamers, the *Sunshine* and *Missouri*, which were on their way to Coney Island, pleasure resort for Cincinnati and the adjacent country. Sideshows, barkers, long-eared donkeys, play apparatus, and pony tracks awaited patrons whose pockets were filled with nickels and dimes.⁴⁸ Showboats and circus boats played Cincinnati regularly. The *City of St. Paul*, popular entertainment vessel, towed a barge upon which lions and other wild animals were caged.⁴⁹ River roustabouts, squatted on black haunches, dozed or shot craps while crowds attended performances. No longer did folks of quality look down upon dice-tossing as a game only for “curbstone gamins and colored sports.” By 1890, craps was a fashionable game played in elegant apartments with an energy which threatened to relegate faro to a subordinate place.⁵⁰

In Columbus, discussion raged over the prevalent practice of young men who attended parties with whiskey flasks and who frequently retired to the dressing room to imbibe.⁵¹ At Steubenville, the Social Purity Society caused the arrest of a female minstrel who appeared in tights. The charge was “indecent exposure of person and giving a lascivious performance.” Conservatives frowned upon the Olympian Roller Rink in Cleveland which advertised a full band of music in the afternoons and evenings.⁵² A falling off in church attendance was attributed to the new bicycle craze.⁵³

In larger Ohio cities, stock companies and road shows opened at the opera house for engagements of a week or even more. Smaller communities were fortunate to secure one-night stands. Frequently, elaborate parades announced a troupe’s arrival. When Stetson’s

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1890.

⁴⁸ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, June 1, 1893.

⁴⁹ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Apr. 1, 1890.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1890.

⁵¹ *Columbus Dispatch*, Jan 2, 1897.

⁵² *Ohio Farmer*, Jan. 24, 1885.

⁵³ *Life*, LXXXV (1925), 7.

Company played *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at the Grand Theater in Columbus, a procession of two bands, ponies, bloodhounds and a steam calliope marched through the streets.⁵⁴ De Wolf Hopper and his famous opera company toured the State with their version of *El Capitan*. Nellie McHenry played *A Night in New York*, and Flora Moore appeared in the Hamlin Farce Comedy Company's *The Fakir*. She was famed for her rendition of the popular song, "I Wouldn't Advise You to Do It."⁵⁵ E. H. Sothern was another Ohio favorite who earned Buckeye applause with his *Lord Chumley* and *Highest Bidder*. William Gilette played to capacity houses in *The Private Secretary*. The Nick Roberts' Supreme Specialty and Humpty-Dumpty Company took a leisurely tour through Ohio, and Barlow Brothers' Minstrels played both large and small towns. Rose Coghlan captivated audiences with her acting in two plays, *Jocelyn* and *Forget-Me-Not*. For a time *Peck's Bad Boy* was the most discussed entertainment in Cleveland.

A generous program of fun and entertainment was always found on the boards of the Playhouse and Middleton's Dime Museum in Cincinnati. "Among the many wonders that will interest visitors to the curio hall," ventured an editor, "will be Mme. Johnson, the fat giantess, who has created such excitement in the East, and Major Littlefinger and wife, a pair of the tiniest midgets in the world. In addition to this wide range of wonders, three great stage performances will be given every hour. Theatre Stage No. 1 will be occupied by Edward W. Robinson, the celebrated mimic and impersonator, who will present his refined and amusing monologue, entitled 'Behind the Scenes,' introducing quaint eccentricities, dialect delineations, costume impersonations, mimicry, etc. Harry Stork, the talented magician, will present his delightful and instructive entertainment on Theatre Stage No. 2. The Brazilian Burlesque and Specialty Company will appear on Theatre Stage No. 3, introducing J. W. Shephard, novelty dancer; Murray and Murray, black and white face artists; Annie Sylvester, trick bicycle rider; Alice and Dick

⁵⁴ Columbus *Dispatch*, Jan. 2, 1897.

⁵⁵ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Mar. 30, 1890.

McAvoy, acrobatic song and dance artists; McGlone and Lucille, Irish sketch artists."⁵⁶ The Stoddard lectures were billed at theaters, churches, schools, and opera houses for years.

Smaller towns seemed to enjoy the character readings of interpreters such as Katharine F. Oliver who specialized in Scottish parts from the works of Burns, Barrie and McLaren. Louise Bryan sang to appreciative audiences. Temperance lectures and programs appealed to certain groups who appreciated an evening of poetry, songs, stories of drunkards, reformers and true tales of tipplers. "Ohio has 618,118 children in her 7,000 Sabbath Schools," shouted one lecturer, "but her 9,602 saloons are waiting for them!"⁵⁷ Sometimes local lodges produced amateur plays and minstrel shows.

One of the great social diversions for the common man and woman was membership in a society, club, or fraternal organization. Almost anyone who wished could wear a membership button in his lapel. Ladies' Aid Societies worked hard and gossiped faithfully. The Epworth League and the Christian Endeavor met regularly for formal programs and social hours. During the seventies the Young People's Christian Union was gaining strength throughout the State. County Bible societies convened frequently in town churches. County teachers' associations demurely met to hear words of wisdom from a county superintendent with a stiff collar and detachable cuffs. In Eaton, the Research Club discussed matters of scientific interest, and in Wood, a literary club read poetry aloud and distributed generous literary criticism. In Oxford, the Ladies' Reading Circle of the United Presbyterian Church met monthly.

Among the particularly active fraternal organizations whose secret sessions bolstered inferiority complexes and whose social parties and picnics made life pleasant were the Knights of Pythias and the Pythian Sisters. There were many others throughout the State. The Odd Fellows, Masons, Woodmen of the World, Sons of St. George, Daughters of Pocahontas, Knights and Ladies of Honor, and Royal Arcanums were but a few. "Lodge night" was the eve-

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1890.

⁵⁷ *Oxford News*, Jan. 25, 1890.

ning when clerks, coal dealers and dentists by day wrapped themselves in crimson robes, wore gay turbans and became potentates for a few brief hours. The secret password, fraternal clasp and oath of allegiance were all practiced with great solemnity.

Small-town life was varied and lively. If village amusements were simple, they seemed to be enjoyed as well as the more elaborate entertainments. Pastors were given donation parties; in Eaton, young people danced to an orchestra; at Mount Carmel, surprise parties were prevalent; at Seven Mile, oyster suppers pleased both young and old; and small communities throughout the State entertained at cards with Progressive Hearts. "Elegant receptions" at which "dainty refreshments" were served were not uncommon. As many as a hundred and seventy-five guests were served coffee or chocolate. A typical supper menu of the nineties included hot rolls, graham bread, breaded veal cutlets, olives, coffee, ice cream, and cake.⁵⁸ In larger cities, formal entertaining was done at hotels where guests were invited for dinner and euchre.⁵⁹ Frequently, whist was played. Holidays were dedicated to groaning tables throughout the State. No Thanksgiving or Christmas dinner seemed complete without turkey, cranberries, scalloped oysters and the inevitable mashed potatoes. Dessert was apt to be as formidable as main courses. During the late nineties Oxford College students faced the following array of Thanksgiving desserts: mince, apple and pumpkin pie; oranges, bananas, figs, dates, Malaga and Catawba grapes; assorted nuts, raisins; coffee, tea, and cake.⁶⁰

The county fair and the Ohio State Fair probably climaxed the year's entertainment and instruction of the farmer. The first State Fair was held at Cincinnati in 1850, and Ohio continued the plan thereafter with the exception of the year 1888 when the fair was omitted because of the celebration of the Ohio Centennial. Until 1874, the fair moved from city to city, but it then settled permanently in Columbus. County fairs began as early as 1838 when the

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1897; Charles A. Peverelly, *Book of American Pastimes* (New York, 1866), *passim*.

⁵⁹ *Columbus Dispatch*, Jan. 2, 1897.

⁶⁰ *Oxford News*, Dec. 3, 1897.

Huron County Agricultural Society staged exhibits and paid seventy dollars in premiums.⁶¹

Farm families planned carefully for their annual trip to the fair. Sunday clothes were brushed and best boots polished. Deep baskets held fried chicken, pressed meats, homemade bread, cucumber pickles, currant jelly and watermelon preserve. Not forgotten was an apple pie carefully wrapped in an immaculate square of cloth. Horses were groomed, harness polished and buggies washed. Chores were done early, and a family, wide-eyed with excitement, was on its way long before the morning sun topped Ohio's hills. At the fair grounds, the procedure had been standardized for generations. First, the team was cared for. Then the women folk started for the home art exhibits. The men wandered through the stables and gradually "got around" to seeing the farm machinery on display. Noon dinner was eaten from a white cloth spread on the ground. A good deal of visiting with other friends went on during the lunch hour. The afternoon was taken up with stock parades and the horse racing. Children frequented the "Midway" which had become complicated and elaborate after the Chicago Exposition. Ferris wheels, pony rides, and even the age-old pea game lured long-saved petty cash from youthful pockets.

Sometimes families, particularly if they were exhibiting live stock, erected tents and camped on the fair grounds. Most people, however, remained only for a day. At times they had to return home in time for evening chores, but more frequently a neighbor milked the cows and watered the stock. The ride home was filled with small talk of blue ribbon steers, sweepstake Clydesdales and double pony team turnouts, best peck of white turnips, prize-winning apricot jam, best tatting specimen, or the finest bouquet of asters. Farm problems had been discussed, recipes exchanged and butter-and-egg money spent. What better entertainment could be devised?

Childhood pleasures in Ohio followed the seasons. For boys, spring was the time of marbles and baseball. Some youngsters could snap a "commie" out of a ring with a two-bit "aggie" as easily as

⁶¹ *Ohio Agr. Rep., 1897, 518.*

they hit a home run in the vacant lot behind the general store. Summer was spent in swimming holes or catching sunfish and bass with poplar poles cut with a thirty-five-cent jack knife. Autumn was nutting-time. Then boys transferred their attentions from water-melon patches to pumpkin piles. In winter, the ice skate took the place of the roller skate and the bicycle. Sturdy sleds, made in wagon factories, carried adventuresome lads down swift slopes. A good sled with steel runners could cost as much as twenty dollars, and bicycles were even more expensive. The Hawthorne, made in Washington, D. C., retailed for fifty dollars, and the Union Jack, manufactured in Boston, sold for forty-five dollars.⁶² Other well-known makes popular throughout Ohio were Ramblers, Crescents and Clippers which ranged in price from thirty to eighty dollars.⁶³ Girls, particularly in rural districts, enjoyed many of the same amusements as did boys.

Smaller children played with dolls, drawing slates, tin and iron toys and picture books. Their love for sweets was satisfied with candies now long forgotten. Phoenix's Mixed Candy sold at six cents a pound. Sugar kisses, mixed hard chop, mint drops, cinnamon imperials and burnt peanuts, and jelly beans teased youthful appetites. Pop-corn balls made at home were delicacies of the winter season.⁶⁴ From time to time, disapproving voices cautioned against pampering the modern generation. Stern disciplinarians cautioned:

"I want to tell you something that perhaps you do not know,
Boys and girls were just as happy forty years ago."⁶⁵

During the seventies and eighties sturdy Buckeyes in turtle-necked sweaters and sporting generous handle-bar mustaches tussled on mats, knocked home runs, tackled on the gridiron and participated in wheeling tournaments. Others entered track meets, joined trap and trigger clubs, or followed the cult of Izaak Walton. Sport

⁶² Oxford News, Sept. 25, 1896; *American Boy's Book of Sports and Games* (New York, 1864), *passim*.

⁶³ Columbus Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1897.

⁶⁴ Oxford News, Dec. 17, 1897.

⁶⁵ Ohio Farmer, Apr. 12, 1890.

for the masses had begun. Athletic clubs increased in number, college and university sports developed with emphasis upon team play, and golf and the country club were slowly changing American life. The great out-of-doors beckoned, and thousands of Ohioans responded. By the turn of the century, the State was acutely conscious of its muscles.

The most universal of all sports was bicycling. Men, women, and children took to wheels. In city, town and country, the evolution of the bicycle took place between 1868 and 1885, and by 1895 the machine had been standardized. Among the improvements which greatly increased the use of the bicycle was the drop frame which enabled women to ride. Other improvements, such as the free wheel, coaster brake and pneumatic tire made the machine appealing to thousands. The first patent for the coaster brake was granted in 1880, and the pneumatic tire was unknown before 1889. By 1891, however, forty per cent of all machines manufactured were equipped with them. Two years later, almost a million bicycles were owned throughout the Nation. Not even the Panic of 1893 affected the manufacture of bicycles.

Cycling clubs were as prominent in Ohio as elsewhere in the country. In Cincinnati, two hundred wheelmen raced from the corner of Eighth and Race streets to the Red Bank Hotel where they were entertained at lunch.⁶⁶ By 1897, it was said that cycle racing formed the leading and conspicuous feature of amateur sport. Road races from Columbus to Cincinnati, and from Dayton to Cincinnati attracted scores of riders and hundreds of spectators along the route. At the Chester Park bicycle track, Conn Baker, Columbus, rode a mile in 1:55, winning a miniature diamond bicycle.⁶⁷

Rumors of mudslinging at the National Wheelman's annual meeting did not prevent the sport from growing more popular each year. "The one principal factor which kept the great pastime from standing upon the rocks of disaster," said the Columbus *Dispatch*, "was its purity, owing to the careful handling it has received from

⁶⁶ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 2, 1890.

⁶⁷ Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, Jan. 1, 1897.



25. DEVELOPMENT OF THE BICYCLE, 1790-1884

From Benj. Butterworth, *Growth of Industrial Art* (Washington, 1892), 112.

that superb organization, the League of American Wheelmen.”⁶⁸ By 1880, that organization had a membership of more than seven hundred thousand bicycle fans. Women embraced the wheel with fervor. “Bigosh!” said a rural visitor when he saw women in bifurcated garments on wheels, “Ef she ain’t astraddle!”⁶⁹ Cycling costumes for women were advertised in detail. A Paris model in gray, blue cloth with a divided skirt and a blouse with a short basque and ornamented in front with gray mother of pearl buttons was considered ultra smart.⁷⁰ Mabley and Carew of Cincinnati paid particular attention to the proper sports costume. They advertised a variety of lawn tennis suits, outing coats and shirts, complete bicycle costumes, and many “other things that the seeker of Rest and Recreation will need.”⁷¹

Punsters, cartoonists and song writers all utilized the bicycle craze of the nineties. The caustic *Life* pictured Mark Hanna pedaling to Washington with McKinley secure in the delivery basket, and “Daisy Bell” is remembered as the song of courtship on a bicycle built for two!

Baseball had been played in a variety of ways in the United States before 1830. It is difficult to determine just when ballplaying became a part of American life, but the game as now known certainly was being played in the late thirties or the early forties. One of the greatest spectators’ sports, baseball rapidly assumed national prominence after the Civil War. In the junior days of the National League when no player wore a glove and when the same pitcher was used game after game, Cincinnati was in its glory. The Queen City opened the baseball season of 1879 with a creditable winning streak of six victories, but was toppled by Syracuse in a “comedy of errors” that resembled nine men playing with a hot potato. In those youthful days of baseball the home team batted first, no spring training was demanded, and gloves were considered an affectation. In Cleveland, the Forest City Baseball Club was formed in 1869 when Al

⁶⁸ Columbus *Dispatch*, Jan. 5, 1897.

⁶⁹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 8, 1890.

⁷⁰ Oxford *News*, Sept. 24, 1897.

⁷¹ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 29, 1890.



26. BASEBALL BECOMES A NATIONAL GAME

Harper's Weekly, Aug. 22, 1885.

Pratt, pitcher for the Riverside Club, was hired to form a professional team, for it recognized that baseball no longer was a pastime, but had become a business.⁷² The team lived only a short time, but was revived in 1875 when baseball which many thought would be a short-lived sensation, proved to be a national game.⁷³

In 1871, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York, Hartford and Boston organized the National League of Professional Baseball Clubs. In 1885, the National Brotherhood of Baseball Players was organized with teams from Cleveland, New York, Pittsburgh, Brooklyn, Boston, Buffalo and Chicago participating. An American Association whose membership included Toledo and Columbus collapsed in 1891 as the result of a war between the Brotherhood and the Association over the buying and selling of players. In

⁷² Cleveland *Leader*, Nov. 30, Dec. 2, 3, 4, 1870.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1875.

1882, the American Association sponsored a twenty-five-cent admission in order to bring the game within the reach of all Americans. Hard hit by the Spanish-American War, baseball reorganized itself. The twelve-club system was revised and membership reduced to eight clubs. In 1900, clubs playing were those which comprise the present National League. At the same time, the American League revised its membership. The Cincinnati Reds and the Cleveland Indians became the pride of Ohio. Thousands flocked to see exciting games, and the State press was generous in supplying space and comments.⁷⁴

Some early baseball scores reveal something of the game. In 1890, Cincinnati with Rhines pitching defeated Cleveland in Cleveland by a score of 4 to 0. Eight hundred spectators watched the game. In the Brotherhood, Cleveland beat Chicago by 6 to 5 before a crowd of 3,490. American Association fans saw Rochester defeat Toledo 6 to 7 and Brooklyn whip Columbus 3 to 1.⁷⁵ Ohioans roared furiously when the legislature made ballplaying on Sunday illegal. Even if players received permission of the owner of a park or lot, the game could not be played lawfully.⁷⁶ The act was consistently evaded, and by 1897 was of no consequence. Most players had forgotten that such an act ever stood upon the revised statutes. The baseball season of 1896 was considered one of the most successful years in Ohio. More games, professional and amateur, had been played than ever before.⁷⁷ So great, indeed, was interest that songs of the base and bat became popular. In 1860, the cover of "The Live Oaks Polka" showed a game under way with players dressed in blue caps and jackets and white trousers. Nine years later the Cincinnati Reds found themselves on the cover of "The Red Stockings Polka."

Football and basketball did not assume the prominence of baseball in Ohio until the late nineties and did not become popular until past the turn of the century. Both games were to be picked up by colleges and made intercollegiate sports. The gridiron season of

⁷⁴ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 1, 1890.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1890.

⁷⁶ *Ohio Farmer*, July 19, 1890.

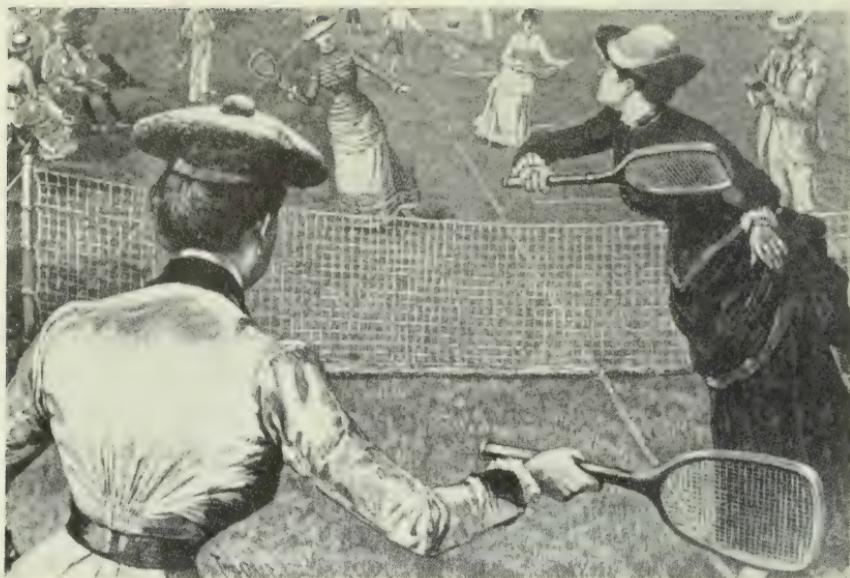
⁷⁷ *Columbus Dispatch*, Jan. 5, 1897.

1896 at Ohio State University was disappointing, but plans were made to participate in one of the "liveliest campaigns ever seen in the Buckeye state" the following year. Football, said an Ohio newspaper, was rapidly coming to the front instead of declining. "Its rules are in keeping with the game, and players are gradually awakening to the fact that to be in it, they must play scientific ball or forever drop out of the sport."⁷⁸ Smaller Ohio colleges, such as Miami University, played full schedules during early days of the sport. In 1896, Miami opened its season by defeating Earlham College, 26 to 0. The only accident occurred when Allen, of Earlham, tackled and dislocated his shoulder. Only one injury per game was worthy of editorial comment when football was young.⁷⁹ Basketball had not been originated until 1892 when Dr. James Naismith conceived the game. It did not become prevalent throughout the State until past the turn of the century. As late as 1897, sport summaries neglected mention of the game in Ohio. Later, it was to be sponsored by Y. M. C. A. athletic directors and was to become one of the most exciting of college games.

Croquet, introduced during the 1860's, was frequently referred to as the "courting game." Indeed, if the game was played as depicted upon song covers, it was as sentimental as the nineties themselves. A song illustration showed a beau brummel sitting upon a bench with an arm around his partner's waist. A mallet dangles in his hand, and he gazes fatuously into the wickets of a pair of innocent eyes. When the National Croquet Association was formed in 1882, Ohioans found the carefree rules of the game considerably revised and made stricter. Lawn tennis was both a game for the amateur and the skilled professional. Introduced as early as 1874, it had become a game for the wealthy in Ohio during the following decade. The National Lawn Tennis Association did much to standardize the game and insure its popularity. The game offered relaxation for women as well as men. Local lawn tennis clubs in Ohio were playing matches, erecting club houses, constructing courts and

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1897.

⁷⁹ *Oxford News*, Oct. 29, 1896.



27. OHIO WOMEN ENDORSE LAWN TENNIS
Harper's Weekly, July 11, 1885.

increasing their membership. The Cincinnati Association, composed of six clubs, had a strenuous program scheduled for 1890.⁸⁰

The gymnasium, sponsored by the Y. M. C. A. and stimulated by the growth of college athletics, gradually appeared in Ohio. From 1880, sports played within gymnasiums gradually increased, and physical exercise routines, based upon the German use of apparatus and Swedish free exercises, became popular. Dumb-bell drills, twenty-yard dashes, putting the shot, hundred-yard relays, thirty-yard potato races and Indian wrestling intrigued college athletes.⁸¹ At the Sixth Annual Field Day held at the Cincinnati Gymnasium grounds in 1893, the hundred-yard dash was run in $10 \frac{2}{5}$ seconds; the two hundred and twenty yard dash in $24 \frac{1}{5}$ seconds; and the four hundred and forty yard dash in $60 \frac{1}{5}$ seconds. The winning

⁸⁰ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 15, 1890.

⁸¹ *Oxford News*, Mar. 19, 1897.

hop, step and jump was 42 feet and 6 inches.⁸² Such contests were typical throughout the State.

Boxing, of course, was thought brutal and worthy only of plug-uglies with cauliflower ears and Brooklyn accents. The "bare-knuckle" school of John L. Sullivan during the decade from 1882 to 1892 was considered unrefined. Nevertheless, fight fans in Ohio cities and rural districts followed the careers of "Gentleman Jim" Corbett, Bob Fitzsimmons and James J. Jeffries with breathless attention. The *Police Gazette* was barbershop literature which opened the doors and exposed the mysteries of national sporting events to Ohioans. So popular, indeed, did fighting become that local amateurs arranged bouts and fought them under railroad bridges where the law could not follow. City toughs fought to the finish on saloon floors for purses of a hundred dollars.⁸³

Other less strenuous activities were bowling and billiards. In 1897, the Brooklyn Bowling Team traveled to Columbus to roll a long series with Ohio advocates of the game. "This invigorating pastime," said a sports writer, "is yet only in its infancy and before another year rolls around, I predict great things from the maple floor."⁸⁴ Billiards did not become popular through the State until the turn of the century, although the game was played long before that.

Hunting and fishing clubs attracted the man who loved the out-of-doors. Trap and trigger clubs swelled their membership enrollment during the eighties and nineties. The Sherman Rod and Gun Club was considered by sporting enthusiasts as one of the finest organizations in the State. In Cleveland, fly-casting tournaments attracted hundreds of spectators.⁸⁵ City-dwellers were more apt to buy memberships in gun clubs than rural residents. As early as 1879, *Forest and Stream* was encouraging fishing excursions to northern woods. In Ohio, farmers were forced to post their land against trespassers who fished and hunted without permission, and

⁸² Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, June 2, 1893.

⁸³ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 1, 1890.

⁸⁴ Columbus *Dispatch*, Jan. 5, 1897.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

the legislature began to enact game laws. In 1896, deer were protected by statute until November 10, 1900, and only specified dates were opened for the hunting of quail, ruffed grouse, wild turkey, squirrels, rabbits and woodcocks.⁸⁶ Farmers' associations for the suppression of hunting and trespassing were organized in large numbers. Local rod and gun clubs attempted to enforce State game laws. Most illegal hunting and fishing came from individuals rather than from gun clubs.

Cleveland was considered an ideal yachting center which rapidly was attracting a fleet of boats to her ports and clubs during the seventies.⁸⁷ In the Forest City and elsewhere throughout Ohio horse racing was popular. The Alliance Driving Park Association announced some of the finest horse racing in eastern Ohio, and the Cleveland Club was proud of purses amounting to as much as two thousand dollars.⁸⁸ Another sport was shooting clay birds. When the Grand National Pigeon Shooting Tournament was held in 1875 on the northern Ohio Fair Grounds with 139 crack shots from all parts of the country competing for a first prize of three hundred dollars, a Cleveland marksman took the prize money.⁸⁹

Boat racing was a common pastime in localities having bodies of water. At Myers Lake near Canton, the racing season was opened annually with a regatta. Double-scull races on a six-mile course were usually extremely popular.⁹⁰ Canoeing also was engaged in not only as sport, but also as a pleasing relaxation. In 1880, Judge Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati offered a tournament cup to the Western Canoe Association.⁹¹

Golf and canoeing, however, did not come into great prominence in Ohio until past the turn of the century, but so great had become the interest in other forms of sport that newspapers began referring to the "athletic craze" and maintained that in many instances sports-

⁸⁶ *Oxford News*, Oct. 9, 1896.

⁸⁷ *Cleveland Leader*, Mar. 30, Apr. 12, July 3, 12, 1875.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1870; July 26, 28, 29, Oct. 23, 1875.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, June 11, 13, 14, 1875.

⁹⁰ *Cincinnati Commercial*, May 16, 1879.

⁹¹ Frederic L. Paxson, "The Rise of Sport," *M. V. H. Rev.*, IV (1917), 165 n.

manship, honor, and gentlemanly deportment were forgotten by participants.⁹²

During the snide seventies even walking was a major sport, not merely a pastime. Many pedestrian contests were held throughout the State which attracted great interest in the sporting world. At Ironton, a young walker named Hicks did a hundred miles in twenty-six hours and forty-five minutes. About the same time Madame Anderson was staging a remarkable walking exhibition that caused extensive press comment. Between April 19 and May 10, this strong-footed woman had completed $772\frac{1}{2}$ miles and was steadily increasing her total in order to claim the title of "Champion Pedestrian" of the United States. Her average gait covered about one and a half miles every sixty minutes.⁹³

No sporting paper was more widely read in Ohio and throughout the Nation than the *National Police Gazette*, a barbershop favorite containing dramatic illustrations of sporting events, stories of turf and field, and yarns of lawlessness such as the tale of William McHugh, wife-murderer of Cincinnati, who was sentenced to be hanged in 1884.⁹⁴

⁹² Oxford News, Nov. 5, 1897.

⁹³ Cincinnati Commercial, May 10, 11, 1879.

⁹⁴ National Police Gazette (New York), XLIII (1884), 4.

Varying Facets of the Pattern

SICKNESS and health, birth and death, crime and punishment, reading and singing, and the education of children all were topics of interest in the Ohio pattern of life. Young and old were aware of the importance of the physician, undertaker, judge and teacher. Ohioans knew that only good physical and mental health could develop citizens who read, sang and learned at school.

The physical man of Ohio was subject to a variety of ills which plagued him, kept him from work and eventually killed him. In 1850, cholera had swept the State and in succeeding years deaths by natural causes increased with the population.¹

An ambitious commissioner of statistics, imbued with the spirit of the new science, attempted to describe an average Buckeye in 1861. He measured only two hundred and thirty-nine native Americans living in five counties. Upon the basis of such evidence, he concluded that five feet, nine and a half inches was the height of the average Ohioan. The chest measurement stood at thirty-eight and two-tenths inches, and the average weight, fully clothed, was 169 pounds. "What we call *fair complexion* predominates among the people of Ohio." The eyes, according to this early anthropological poll, were light in proportion of three to two, and the hair was inclined to be brown.²

By 1873, however, such surveys had been discarded, and commissioners merely reported causes of natural deaths. The total number of deaths for the year ending March 31, 1873, was 27,112. About one-third of these were children under seven years of age. This terrific infant mortality rate, of course, was typical of American family life from colonial times until well past the turn of the nine-

¹ *Ohio Statistics, 1857*, 50.

² *Ibid., 1861*, 41-5.

teenth century. In Ohio, most babies succumbed from well-known diseases such as diarrhea, dysentery (which covered a multitude of symptoms), consumption and pneumonia. The typical childhood diseases took their toll of life with awful regularity. Smallpox, measles, diphtheria, whooping-cough and "convulsions" and encephalitis were the more common illnesses.³ Diseases of the respiratory system, particularly pneumonia and croup, were generally more to be feared than diseases of the digestive system, such as cholera infantum, diarrhea and enteritis. In 1873, about eight hundred children under a year old died from cholera infantum. Most accidental deaths occurred as the result of burns, scalds and suffocation.

In general, adults took ill with about the same diseases as did children. Pediatrics being what it was in the decade immediately after the Civil War, it is difficult today without clinical records to know what an Ohio physician really meant when he diagnosed the symptoms of a patient. What was loosely described as "diseases of the bowels," took heavy toll of adult life as did Bright's disease, heart difficulties, such as pericarditis and cyanosis, and, of course, pneumonia, cholera and cirrhosis of the liver. Abortions, child-birth and puerperal convulsions swelled the death rate among women. Falls, so common among the aged, gunshot wounds, and railroad, mining and industrial accidents increased the total mortality rate among adults.

In 1880, thirteen per cent of all Ohio deaths were reported as due to consumption. Nine per cent were ascribed to scarlatina and diphtheria. Other prominent causes of death were cholera infantum, croup, measles, smallpox, cancers, cerebro-spinal, enteric, and typhus fevers, and dysentery and diarrhea.⁴

A long campaign was to be waged against smallpox before the people of Ohio, in general, would accept the vaccination technique as a preventive. In 1899, when the disease continued to prevail

³ *Ibid.*, 1873, 382-6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1880, 544.

in Ohio, it was said that many physicians would not endorse vaccination.⁵

Meanwhile, new types of diseases were being diagnosed throughout the State. A practicing physician complained that "year by year, the genius of the profession is taxed to give names to new conditions which have arisen in this domain." He spoke particularly of the rise of mental and nervous disorders. "Railroad conductors, engineers and other train employees show the effects of their occupation in a train of peculiar nervous symptoms. Telegraph operators swell the army of sufferers by their contributions to the number of sufferers from nervous diseases. Sanitary measures have reduced the liability of humanity to the destructive epidemics of the past centuries, but the demands of modern living have introduced new factors of mortality into our social life, which are evidently not less destructive, for their influence increases year by year, and we are far from the end."⁶

The establishment of a State Board of Health during the Foraker administration and legislation creating boards of health in municipalities aided the Ohio citizen greatly.⁷ There was no State Board of Health in 1884, Governor Hoadly had been obliged to advise an inquirer, and no license was required for the practice of medicine, but men could not practice without a prescribed amount of training.⁸ By 1890, it was mandatory that the council of cities and villages having a population of five hundred or more establish a board of health. A local health officer was appointed and regulations established for the abatement of nuisances; the regulation, construction and inspection of water closets and privies; the creation of a system of registration of births, marriages, deaths and interments for the "purposes of legal and genealogical investigations"; and for the inspection of localities or houses where infectious or contagious diseases existed or were suspected to be present. In addition, the

⁵ "Small-pox in Ohio," *Ohio Sanitary Bulletin* (Columbus), III (1899), 89.

⁶ *Ohio Stat.*, 1880, 547-8.

⁷ *Ohio Laws, Revised Statutes* (Smith and Benedict), I, 547-54, sec. 2113-48.

⁸ George Hoadly to Dr. Allen J. Black, Columbus, Nov. 12, 1884, Executive Letter Book, 1884-1885 (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library), 254.

local board of health could appoint milk, meat, butter and cheese inspectors; could arrange for gratuitous vaccination and disinfection; and could establish quarantine stations and impose quarantine upon vessels, railroads, or other classes of vehicles. In times of epidemic or threatened epidemic, the board of health was empowered to borrow money and levy taxes.

The State Board of Health cooperated with local boards and sought both to prevent and control disease. It held regular meetings, maintained standing committees which specialized in such problems as the "hygiene of occupations and railway sanitation, epidemic and endemic diseases and quarantine, water sources, sewerage, drainage, adulteration of food, drinks, and drugs, and heating, ventilation, lighting, and hygiene of schools." In 1890, for example, the physicians attached to the board investigated diphtheria at Lancaster and the Orphans' Home at Xenia; smallpox at Deunquat; a slaughterhouse nuisance at Xenia; cheese poisoning in the State; and poisoning from eating pressed chicken near Galena. In addition, inspections were made of several State institutions. It was recommended that most of the plumbing in the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home in Xenia be condemned; that contagious diseases in the Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster be isolated; and that a unit of the Girls' Industrial Home at Delaware be abandoned for living purposes.⁹

By 1892, the health laws of Ohio covered most of the nuisances and diseases which the average health officer would face in the course of his practice. Of particular significance to the average citizen were the statutes pertaining to the adulteration of drugs and foods and the regulation of the sale of milk. A marked step was taken when the office of dairy and food commissioner was established. The health of children was further safeguarded when legislation was passed prohibiting the manufacture of candy which contained terra alba, berytes, talc, or other substances injurious to health.¹⁰

⁹ *Ohio Exec. Doc., 1890, I, 897-979.*

¹⁰ "Manual of the Health Laws of Ohio," *Ohio Exec. Doc., 1890, I, 1192-1270.*

Despite progressive legislation and earnest labor upon the part of public health officials, illness continued to strike down infants and adults. Some deaths, of course, were the result of progressive diseases attendant upon old age, but too many others occurred in age brackets where a longer life span might have been expected. In 1889, the death rate equalled 14.16 per thousand; the previous year the rate equalled 16.5 per thousand; and in 1890, the rate stood at 17.85 per thousand. It was believed that the increased rate was due to more accurate reporting of deaths, rather than to an actual increase in the number of deaths. Thirty-five per cent of all deaths from disease in 1890 were children under five years of age.

About twenty-five per cent of all deaths resulted from zymotic diseases, such as croup, diphtheria, cholera infantum, diarrhea, measles, whooping-cough and scarlet fever. Constitutional diseases, such as cancer and consumption, accounted for about sixteen per cent of all deaths. Local diseases, bronchitis, pleurisy, pneumonia, convulsions and meningitis, totaled forty-three per cent of all deaths reported. Developmental diseases, such as spina bifida, atrophy and asthenia, equalled about eight per cent, and premature and stillbirths totaled the same percentage.¹¹

The same tendency continued past the turn of the century. The death rate among very young children continued to be high, and the established zymotic and constitutional diseases continued to take their toll. Over thirty-five thousand deaths were reported in a population of some four million persons.¹² By this time the occupations of diseased persons had manifested little change.

In 1873, for example, more farmers and stock raisers died than any other group. Laborers came second and were followed by machinists, blacksmiths, lawyers, clerks, clergymen and teachers in that order.¹³ By 1900, housekeepers headed the list, followed by farmers and stock raisers, laborers, carpenters and cabinetmakers, house servants, merchants and miners. Editors, bankers and artists

¹¹ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1890, I, 1044-50.

¹² *Ohio Stat.*, 1901, 727.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1873, 374.

stood at the foot of the list. The reason was simple. There were more housewives and farmers in the total population than there were artists and bankers.¹⁴

The poor health of women was ascribed in one instance to the modern modes of living, improper eating and improper clothing. The bicycle was said to be a health boon as it forced American females to give up their tight lacings.¹⁵ Another author insisted that notoriously lazy people were almost invariably persons in robust health.¹⁶ It was generally agreed, however, by physicians, health officers and writers that the health of city dwellers was inferior to that of rural inhabitants.¹⁷

All in all, Ohio's sick probably received as adequate care in the home as they did in the primitive hospitals and infirmaries during the seventies and succeeding decades. The twenty years prior to 1900 witnessed the construction of many hospitals in urban communities throughout the State, but both medical and surgical facilities were inferior when compared with twentieth-century institutions. Before the turn of the century, the average Ohioan probably thought that a hospital was a place in which to die rather than as a highly specialized institution in which he could regain his health. In 1870, Cleveland was said to be lamentably barren of general hospital facilities.¹⁸

Five years later, however, the Charity Hospital was in operation and had introduced steam for heating, cooking, laundry purposes and for elevators. More than five hundred patients were treated annually. Yet a resident of West Cleveland was complaining of the total lack of hospital accommodation in his district for poor persons. The Cleveland City Hospital which became known as the Wilson Street Hospital leased the property of the United States Marine Hospital and made a public appeal for beds and other discarded

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1901, 781-6.

¹⁵ Cyrus Edson, "Health and Beauty," *North American Review* (New York), CLXIV (1897), 510.

¹⁶ "The Contributor's Club," *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), LX (1887), 139.

¹⁷ John S. Billings, "The Health of Boston and Philadelphia," *Forum* (New York), XVII (1894), 595-602.

¹⁸ *Cleveland Leader*, July 16, 1870.

pieces of furniture.¹⁹ In at least one instance roads to hospitals were impassable in muddy weather, making it necessary for ambulances to unload their patients who continued on foot. Patients who had been removed from their homes in good condition were said to have reached the hospital in delirium after being removed from ambulances and forced to walk.²⁰ The first Cleveland pharmaceutical society was organized in 1875.²¹

In 1879, the Cincinnati Hospital was described as "one of the largest, most convenient, attractive, and best-managed" institutions in the country. It occupied two city blocks, consisted of eight three-story buildings and was said to have five hundred beds. Most of its inmates were charity patients, but private patients were housed in separate quarters. In addition to this institution, Cincinnati also possessed the Miami Medical College Dispensary, the Ohio Medical College Dispensary, the Homeopathic Free Dispensary and the Women's Dispensary Association. The Cincinnati College of Pharmacy had been founded in 1870 and was said to be one of ten such institutions in the United States nine years later.²²

Most city deaths occurred in tenement districts. The four most sickly wards in Cincinnati in 1877 were all predominately German in population. The highest suicide rate occurred, also, in German communities where middle-aged Germans, for one reason or another, took their lives by shooting, poisoning, drowning, or hanging. Three hundred and twenty-nine persons were buried at city expense either because relatives were too poor to finance burials or because the dead were unidentified. The cost of a city funeral was \$2.00 for a coffin, \$1.65 for attendance and \$1.25 for a grave.²³

By the turn of the century magazine contributors were declaring that their generation was finding it difficult to keep in condition and were advocating an avoidance of innumerable fads and nostrums on the market and a positive attitude toward life rather than toward

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, Oct. 1, 8, 1875.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1875.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 25, 1875.

²² Moses King, *King's Pocket-Book of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1879), 20, 22, 28.

²³ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Feb. 4, 1877.

death.²⁴ Yet even by 1912 health conditions were far from satisfactory. Had many Ohioans, for example, who visited the Miami Valley Chautauqua Association grounds south of Dayton realized that although the intellectual attractions were great, the health facilities were bad, they might not have been eager to go to Chautauqua with their families. Toilet facilities, said health officers, were inadequate, slops and garbage were thrown upon the grounds, garbage was tossed into the river, and no notice was given to bathers that the Miami River was badly polluted by sewage and other wastes and, therefore, was not suitable for swimming.²⁵

Assessors reported 61,198 births in 1870, 59,957 the following year, and 62,210 in 1872. In 1873, the total number of births, legitimate and illegitimate, was 58,977.²⁶ During 1880, 62,422 births were recorded, and ten years later the number increased to 68,488. In 1900, the total decreased to 54,594.²⁷ Families were large. Not infrequently twelve and fifteen children were born to a couple. The high infant mortality rate, of course, reduced the number of children who lived to maturity. Marriages occurred at a rather early age. Divorces, not numerous during the early years, increased as population grew and as the twentieth century approached. In 1870, for example, the total number of divorces was 1,008 and the total number of marriages, 25,459; in 1880, 1,578 to 27,805; in 1890, 2,306 to 33,255; and in 1900, 3,878 divorces to 36,883 marriages.²⁸ In Ohio, divorce was granted on the following grounds: adultery, absence and neglect, cruelty, drunkenness and fraud.

The mentally unfortunate of Ohio received attention from early times, but it was to be many years before the "lunatic" received proper care at the hands of trained psychopathists, and only after the turn of the century did the old-fashioned asylum become less a place of confinement and more of a hospital. Before the Civil War

²⁴ Daniel G. Mason, "The Tendency to Health," *Scribner's Monthly* (New York), XXVIII (1900), 118-22.

²⁵ "Summer Resort Inspection," *Monthly Bulletin Ohio State Board of Health* (Columbus), II (1912), 321.

²⁶ *Ohio Stat.*, 1873, 370.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1901, 796.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 883.

and for years afterwards, many insane persons had "no chance of cure, except such as was found in the narrow limits and unwholesome rooms of a jail."²⁹ Yet treatment of the "stormy desert of the brain" was presumed to be scientific in several state institutions. Detailed case reports were cited to indicate types of patients and classes of disease.³⁰ In 1845, directors of the Ohio Lunatic Asylum, Columbus, solemnly asserted that "the medical attention to the patients, is thorough and unremitting. Every patient is examined daily, whose condition renders it necessary. Both nurse and physician, throughout the day and night, devote the same care and attention to the sick which they would receive, in the best ordered private families." The superintendent, however, was not as cheerful. He mentioned acute disorders prevalent among the inmates, a heavy mortality rate and a low percentage of cures.³¹

In 1870, five State-supported institutions were caring for the mentally unfit. The Central Lunatic Asylum, Glenwood (successor to the Ohio Lunatic Asylum); the Ohio State Asylum for Imbecile Children, Columbus; the Northern Ohio Lunatic Asylum, Newburg; Longview Asylum, near Cincinnati; and the Southern Ohio Lunatic Asylum, at Dayton. More than five thousand persons were classified as either "insane" or "idiotic" in 1870. The institutional cost for caring for unfortunates was tremendous. Over six hundred thousand dollars were expended in this manner in 1873.³² In 1900, seven state institutions were caring for the mentally deficient, and over twenty-five hundred persons were committed during the year.³³

Treatment of mental diseases, in the main, continued to be rudimentary, although progress was made in diagnosis. Post-mortem examinations frequently gave insight into pathological conditions even if they were of little value to the immediate patient. By 1880, a program of amusements had been instituted in the Columbus Asylum. The Columbus High School Choir, City Concert Troupe

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1858, 41-2.

³⁰ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1845, IX, 37-41, Doc. 15.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1846, Vol. X, pt. 1, p. 115, 136-8, Doc. 14.

³² *Ohio Stat.*, 1873, 357, 358, 359, 360, 363.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1901, 812.

and a minstrel troupe entertained inmates on Thursday evenings.³⁴ In 1890, Dr. W. P. Crumbacker, superintendent of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, sought to establish proof that the use of mechanical "implements of restraint" were, in most instances, unnecessary in the treatment of the insane. He pointed out that violent patients, instead of being chained like madmen of early days and strapped in "mits" and strait-jackets could be easily quieted by the use of a variety of new drugs.³⁵ Yet there must have been unscientific, inhuman and brutal treatment of unfortunates who wandered in the maze of clouded brains. In the Toledo Asylum for the Insane, for example, a patient died from traumatic congestion of the lungs. An inquest revealed twenty-one fractured ribs and three fractures of the breast bone. Due, however, to the absence of "any bruises or contusions" the coroner gave an opinion that death was due to "muscular exertion" and that the fractures resulted from "an abnormal brittle condition of the bones."³⁶

Longview probably was the most modern of any State hospital for the mentally disabled at the turn of the century. It was caring for between eight and nine hundred patients. Its recoveries were said to be twenty-five per cent on the admissions, and its deaths were reported as five and a half per cent on the total number of patients under treatment. In 1890, the annual cost per patient was estimated at \$158.82. It prided itself upon a system of electrical signals for sick calls and fire alarms; upon an iron chute and dumb-waiter in place of an old wooden one; and a new hayloft. Its superintendent was especially pleased with a new diet which had been worked out with considerable care. It consisted mainly of bread, butter, potatoes, cheese, prunes, beef, stewed fruit and syrup. There were, however, disadvantages. The male wards were overcrowded; distribution of supplies was inconvenient; the amusement hall was too small; and many of the clocks were old and unreliable. Water used for scrubbing floors, making steam and bathing patients came from an ad-

³⁴ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1880, I, 176-8, 183-4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1890, II, 120-1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 795-6.

jacent canal "which may be considered an open sewer."³⁷ The way of life for Ohio's insane was a difficult one.

Some Ohioans observed the procession of life through barred windows. In 1873, almost six thousand prisoners were confined in county jails at an aggregate cost of some fifty thousand dollars, or about fifty-nine cents a day per prisoner. The bulk of these individuals were born in the United States. Irishmen ranked next, followed by Germans, Englishmen and Frenchmen. Three hundred and twenty-two individuals were sentenced to the penitentiary.³⁸

The cause of crime had long been debated in Ohio. It was said that intemperance was the chief source of both poverty and crime,³⁹ and that "want begets the greater number of crimes against property."⁴⁰ Other reasons advanced were natural imbecility, unavoidable misfortunes and natural depravity. In 1870, the warden of the Ohio Penitentiary said simply: "A man commits crime because he does not properly appreciate his duty to man and to God."⁴¹

Prison discipline was strict. Refusal to obey regulations resulted in confinement in a dark cell, and "sometimes plunging in cold water." Convicts were encouraged to remain calm by the "kind admonition and brotherly suggestions" of guards. A chaplain furnished additional religious and moral instruction, and a prison physician tended to bodily ills. Prisoners were issued uniform clothing, slept on straw beds or husk mattresses, bathed once a week, and ate from stone-china, using steel knives and forks. The contract system of prison labor was in vogue. It was strongly defended not only as an aid to the prisoner, but also as a means of securing finances for the penitentiary. Prisoners were "let" to contractors for specified terms. The Ohio Tool Company, for example, had contracts for seventy-two convicts at a wage scale of about seventy cents a day.⁴² In 1880, convict labor amounted to more than \$156,000. At

³⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 23-44.

³⁸ *Ohio Stat.*, 1873, 460-1, 438-41.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1858, 55-6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1860, 41.

⁴¹ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1870, I, 416.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 457-8.

that time, the number of convicts was 1,231. Ten years later the number had increased to 1,557.

As time went on the old idea of prison as punishment altered. Convicts seemed to receive better treatment. In 1880, Warden Noah Thomas abandoned the practice of confining prisoners to dungeons. He attempted to give his charges wholesome food and good clothing.⁴³ A library was furnishing reading materials to inmates. The librarian who was the institution's chaplain was shocked at the sensational nature of some volumes he found in circulation. After he had suppressed almost a thousand volumes of trashy fiction, he received the following poetic request from a convict borrower.

"Please send me a book wherein the sage,
Commits a murder on every page.
And where the suicides are dispersed
Throughout the book in charming verse."

"If any such are in your possession,
Pray send me one, or make confession
That 'tis against the rule of the institution,
To make of such books a distribution."

The eager borrower was offered his choice of *Harper's Weekly*, *Harper's Monthly*, *The Scientific American*, or *The Christian!* Night-school classes were instituted for men who wished to devote their evenings to study. A class in telegraphy proved popular as did elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. The lack of texts and of library books, however, hampered the work of instructors.⁴⁴

Despite these pioneer efforts at vocational rehabilitation, prison routine frequently was disturbed by loud words, violent quarrels and ugly fights. Prison physicians reported numbers of violent wounds. Contusions, incised wounds and punctured wounds were frequent. Disobedience, quarreling, destruction of property and general misconduct were punished according to an elaborate sys-

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1880, I, 21.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1890, I, 410-20.

tem. The "mark" system by which convicts received merit marks for good conduct and demerit marks for misbehavior generally was considered satisfactory and progressive.⁴⁵

In 1884, the legislature took the first steps to segregate the professional criminal from the youthful, first offender. Accordingly, an intermediate penitentiary was established at Mansfield. It was later to be known as the Ohio State Reformatory. Levi T. Scofield, the architect, planned to make this institution the model prison of the State. Unfortunately, however, the completed project did not follow original drawings in all details.⁴⁶

Two industrial schools cared for delinquent and wayward boys and girls. The Boys' Industrial School was located near Lancaster, and the Girls' Industrial School was situated at Rathbone. In 1873, one hundred and eighty-two boys were admitted and seventeen girls.⁴⁷ At the school for boys, situated among the Hocking Hills, the inmates tended orchards, vineyards and gardens. In addition, they manufactured the shoes and clothing needed by the institution and did the blacksmith and carpenter work. They attended school a half a day.⁴⁸ Their day's work began at six o'clock when breakfast was eaten. Half of the boys worked until eleven-thirty and the other half attended school. Lunch was served at noon, and work and school were resumed until five o'clock. Supper was eaten at six and lights were out at eight. A chaplain looked after their spiritual welfare, a physician treated their bodily ills and a librarian guided their reading. The boys themselves maintained a band.⁴⁹ An interesting experiment was the "family" organization. Each new boy was assigned to a home with other boys who constituted his "older brothers." "Outside, bad boys were his best friends, good boys avoided him; now the thing is reversed; the best boys in the family feel a deep interest in his welfare, and are ready to do him good."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 425-70 for laws governing the Ohio Penitentiary and the bylaws, rules and regulations.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 8-10.

⁴⁷ *Ohio Stat.*, 1873, 364.

⁴⁸ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1870, II, 149-99.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1880, II, 501, 502-3, 504, 505.

The Girls' Industrial School, although it may not have been a "glorious Home," seems to have operated according to the better standards of its day. It was said that seventy-five per cent of those discharged from the home did well. The same type of "family" organization was used here as in the institution for boys. In 1880, the superintendent maintained that girls were managed with "patience, perseverance, and kindness" by particularly skilled and faithful persons.⁵⁰ On the other hand, a physician attached to the institution found girls living in imperfectly drained homes, drinking from springs supplied by surface water and sleeping above cellars filled with seepage and, at times, with standing water. In one season, he diagnosed phthisis, intermittent and remittent fevers and scarlet fever. After listing the foregoing details, he came to his deliberate decision: the sanitary regulations were excellent and the location a salubrious one.

The girls did much of the work of the institution. In addition, they manufactured garments. In one year, they mended about nineteen thousand pieces. Their recreation was slight. On Sunday, divine services were held. A librarian carefully selected such volumes as Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* for girls similar to the author's main character.⁵¹ The average number of inmates during the thirty years from 1870 to 1900 ranged around three hundred. In 1890, the weekly cost per capita of maintaining a girl was \$1.23.

Perhaps no Ohioan took more interest in the criminal and the prison than Governor Hayes. When in office Hayes followed a definite procedure in regard to all applications for pardons. He had formulated a pardon policy consisting of five general principles in 1876, when he indicated that it was unwise to grant a pardon or to make promises on the first presentation of a case. He indicated that when two or more persons were concerned in a crime, it was wise to consider their pardon applications jointly rather than separately. It was unwise, he thought, to pardon a man if he had no employment in view and if no friend was ready to receive the prisoner when he

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 335.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1890, I, 326.

left prison. Finally, Hayes thought that no pardon should be granted unless a judge, prosecuting attorney or some intelligent citizen had been consulted.⁵²

For many years Hayes was interested in the National Prison Reform Association and served as its president in 1883 when Theodore Roosevelt was treasurer. Other prominent Ohioans who were members were A. G. Byers and Roeliff Brinkerhoff. Hayes delivered the opening address at the Cincinnati Prison Congress in 1890 in which he maintained that the lawless spirit of the times was due to business and social attitudes. He pointed out that money had become all important and said that "the opportunities here by speculation, by gambling, by every description of illegitimate effort to make great fortunes, leaving others without that opportunity, is a great cause of crime in this country."⁵³ When Hayes spoke before the Chicago Congregational Club he took as his topic, "Our Brother, the Criminal."⁵⁴

Governor Hoadly also moved slowly in pardon cases.⁵⁵ Hoadly's letter books reveal him as one of the most meticulous of governors and one especially attentive to the cause of justice, who personally made minute investigations of applicants for pardons. He would not admit that a woman should be pardoned merely because she was old, ill and had been long in prison. "A murderer," he wrote pungently, "can never be pardoned by man."⁵⁶

Freedom of worship for inmates of Ohio's institutions was zealously guarded by Ohio governors. When McKinley learned, for example, that a Catholic girl at the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in Columbus had been deprived of the services of a priest until she lay on her deathbed, he wrote a curt note to the superintendent of the institution. "I need not say to you," McKinley pointed out,

⁵² Charles R. Williams, *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Columbus, 1924), III, 313.

⁵³ *Our Companion* (Cincinnati), I (1890), 7.

⁵⁴ Rutherford B. Hayes, "Our Brother, the Criminal," Reprint (Hayes Memorial Library), No. 466.

⁵⁵ George Hoadly to W. J. Hilands, Columbus, Feb. 18, 1885, Executive Letter Book, 1884-1885, p. 590.

⁵⁶ *Id.* to James M. Jones, Columbus, Dec. 13, 1884, Executive Letter Book, 1884-1885, p. 390.

"what I am sure you will appreciate—that the public institutions of the State are nonsectarian and that the pupils should be privileged to worship according to their beliefs."⁵⁷ Some criticism of administrators, of course, was inevitable. In 1875, for example, Col. R. Burr, warden of the Ohio Penitentiary, was charged in an anonymous note to Rutherford B. Hayes with taking off a load of State furniture when he relinquished his office.⁵⁸

The average citizen of Ohio, however, was little interested in institutional reforms, but found information and leisure enjoyment in that most widely consulted volume of the Ohio farm and small town home, the almanac. Printed on cheap paper, illustrated with garish anatomical charts and signs of the zodiac, and containing kitchen hints, recipes for pickles, jelly and mustard plasters, the almanac was distributed gratis by druggists. It usually hung on a nail close to the kitchen stove or sink. Its pages were well-worn by constant thumbings. Pa looked at it to know if it was time to set out his tomato plants; Ma snatched a minute from her pie baking to jot down the only diary she ever had time to keep; and the children poured over its pages for jokes, puzzles, stories, cartoons, episodes from American history and reproductions of famous paintings. The nineteenth-century almanac was a poor man's encyclopaedia.

But the real purpose of the brilliantly decorated almanac, of course, was to sell patent medicines for men and animals. In 1872, for example, the J. T. Howland Company of New York distributed thousands of copies of their *Household Companion and Family Receipt Book* throughout Ohio. It advertised Moffat's Phoenix Bitters, Moffat's Life Pills and Page's Climax Salve. At the same time, a Cincinnati patent drug house, A. L. Scovill and Company, published the *Farmers' and Mechanics' Almanac*. It testified in glowing terms the efficacy of twenty-two preparations for man and beast. Included were Dr. Baler's Pain Panacea, Dr. William Hall's Balsam, Dr. Roger's Indian Fever Cure, Dr. Roger's Vegetable

⁵⁷ W. McKinley to S. R. Clarke, Columbus, Apr. 19, 1893, Executive Letter Book, 1892-1893, p. 399.

⁵⁸ Anonymous to R. B. Hayes, Piqua, Aug. 19, 1875, Hayes MSS.

Worm Sirup, Dr. Bennett's Sure Death to Rats, Dr. Reynold's Eye Water, and Prof. Dale's Persian Horse and Cattle Powders.

Extravagant claims were made by publishers for the frequently consulted almanac. In 1886, the Merchant's Gargling Oil Company told Ohioans that it was offering gratis "our Almanac, Dream and Fate Book. In matter and style, it will lead all former issues, and prove increasingly acceptable to all, we trust, because of its useful information and innocent diversion. The astronomical tables and calculations have been made by one of the ablest mathematicians in the country. The Dream and Fate references were furnished by an acknowledged authority on folk-lore and occult branches of knowledge. Everything, really, without regarding expense, has been done to provide a complete, reliable and interesting Almanac and Household Book of Reference." Who, indeed, could resist such modest claims?

When, in the same year, Phineas T. Barnum contributed the following praise to the *Centaur Almanac and Cook Book*, the nadir of testimony had been reached. "Among my vast troupe of teamsters, equestrians, horses, camels and elephants, there are always some lame, wounded, galled and strained. My doctors and veterinarians all assure me that nothing has proved so prompt and efficacious a remedy for men and animals as Centaur Liniment." Then came the typical showman's touch. Barnum added, "If you could supply me with a live Centaur, I will give you my check for \$100,000." In 1901, the *Peruna Almanac* was urging citizens to "write Dr. Hartman for free medical advice." The Peruna Drug Manufacturing Company, Columbus, also was issuing English, German and Scandinavian pamphlets free of charge. The almanac probably influenced more persons, gave them more real entertainment, and furnished them with more advice than did McGuffey's readers.

Other types of reading, of course, came into the farm and village home. F. M. Lupton, one of the earliest publishers to appreciate the place of cheap paper reprints, shipped thousands of copies of his books from New York into Ohio. His *Leisure Hour Library*, begun in 1887, was designed for the self-education of farmers and

mechanics. Pamphlets were issued weekly at three cents a copy. An annual subscription cost a dollar and a half. They were tremendously popular. Titles such as *The Whole Subject of Fertilizers*, *Guide to Successful Poultry Keeping*, *The Stockbreeder's Guide*, and *How To Be Your Own Doctor* were passed from hand to hand. Lupton also issued a general series of books at twelve cents each, or forty titles for seventy-five cents. For the sensational list there were J. H. Robinson's *The Woman Hater* and Florence Warden's *Doris's Fortune*. A book of stories, pictures, puzzles and games for the little folks at home was entitled *Round the Evening Lamp*.

The People's Handbook Series was designed by the enterprising Lupton to meet the lean pocketbook and satisfy the morbid and curious taste. For only ten cents an Ohio boy could purchase either *The Thrilling Adventures of a New York Detective* or *Every Boy His Own Toy-Maker*. These books contained sixty-four double-column octavo pages, a colored cover, and they were guaranteed to go inside a standard-sized geography! The New York publisher catered to the genteel and highly developed literary taste as well as to the literary lowbrows. *The Arm Chair Library* was designed for those who had ten cents and an ambition to read what was considered good. Titles in this series included Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, Poe's *Gold Bug* and Stevenson's *Treasure Island*. *The Chimney Corner Series*, on the other hand, was designed for the most select and discriminating tastes. Priced at twenty-five cents each, the books consisted of from one hundred to two hundred double-column, octavo pages. An illustrated cover made attractive titles such as Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. No hierarchy was ever more carefully arranged than the various Lupton reading series.⁵⁹

Other books, of course, were read by the people of the Buckeye State. The *Ohio Farmer* apparently considered the following titles appropriate for an agricultural population. Krause's *Life of Erasmus Darwin*, Allen's *Solar Light and Heat*, Ferris' *Great Singers*,

⁵⁹ The author is indebted to Professor E. W. King, Miami University librarian, for use of his personal collection of almanacs and Lupton libraries.

and Appleton's *Library of American Fiction*.⁶⁰ Among the best sellers of the nineties were Booth Tarkington's *The Gentleman from Indiana*, James M. Barrie's *Sentimental Tommy*, S. Weir Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne*, and James L. Allen's *The Choir Invisible*. For years Ohioans chuckled over the humor of Mark Twain and the witticisms of "Mr. Dooley." In 1899, reading circles discussed Ford's *Janice Meredith*, Churchill's *Richard Carvel*, Crawford's *Via Crucis* and Major's *When Knighthood Was in Flower*. In 1900, Mary Johnston's *To Have and to Hold* and Irving Bacheller's *Eben Holden* were among the best sellers. The truly intellectual and the poetically inclined of Ohio avidly read the *Chap Book* or *The Lark*. Gelett Burgess published his famous lines on a purple cow in the latter in May, 1895. Of course, boys in Ohio and all over the country smacked their lips over the hair-raising adventures of the Beadle dime-novel heroes.

Among the sensational New York journals devoted to stories of nineteenth-century melodrama popular in Ohio during the eighties were Street and Smith's *New York Weekly* described by its publishers as a paper of useful knowledge, romance and amusement; the *New York Fireside Companion* which printed the lurid adventures of "Old Strategy," a cunning detective who figured in countless stories; the *New York Waverly* dedicated to tales of the high lights and shadows of life; the *New York Family Story Paper* which specialized in sentences such as "Presently he heard the faint clink of the glass plate as she removed the goblet, and saw her take a small vial from her bosom, remove the stopper, and pour the contents into the goblet"; and the *Peoples' Library*, a paper-bound magazine that ran a complete "first-class" story in every issue. Scores of Ohioans must have subscribed to the *Social Visitor Magazine*, published in Boston and running titles such as "A Terrible Repentance" and "Dolly's Luck" in each issue. A popular Chicago publication read in Ohio was *Our Fireside Friend* which seemed to specialize in mysteries and ghostly tales of haunted houses.

Purchases made by the Ohio State Library and by the librarians

⁶⁰ *Ohio Farmer*, Apr. 10, 1880.

of the various penal and corrective institutions throughout the State reveal what professional librarians considered worth while and certain Ohioans, at least, were obliged to read.⁶¹ In 1880, reform school boys had access, it seems, only to standard works, such as Dickens, Irving, Bancroft and Macaulay. Among the few miscellaneous volumes were those of Alcott's and Holland's.⁶² The boys, however, were anxiously awaiting the arrival of a hundred dollars' worth of books. In 1890, the librarian of the girls' home at Rathbone ordered more than a hundred new books. The list was catholic, including titles such as *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, *Elsie Venner*, *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, *Little Women* and *The Story of a Bad Boy*.⁶³

Magazines ranged from those on the child's level to scientific journals. The Ohio farmer was apt to read quite different literature than the Ohio barrister. Among the favorite children's magazines were *St. Nicholas* and the *Youth's Companion*. For the intellectual adult, *Harper's Monthly*, *Scientific American* and *Century* were acceptable. The Columbus *Dispatch* maintained that "from the very first issue Scribner's has been the accepted leader in modern magazine literature and art."⁶⁴ Richard Harding Davis, W. D. Howells and Charles Dana Gibson all contributed to *Scribner's*. The *Dispatch* spoke with pleasure of articles dealing with the conduct of great business in America and of stories of undergraduate life in American colleges. The *Review of Reviews*, *McClure's*, and *Godey's* were other periodicals read in Ohio.

The *Ohio Farmer*, published in Cleveland, probably was the best-known, general farm journal circulated throughout the State. It offered a remarkable variety of information and entertainment. Attempting to appeal to the entire family, it accomplished its purpose with singular success. It published poems of great length. "Pat and the Young Bull" was almost ballad-like in construction. Its columns printed addresses in full, and it ran continued stories in

⁶¹ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1870, II, 287-327 for catalogue of Ohio State Library.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1880, II, 504.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1890, I, 326-7.

⁶⁴ *Columbus Dispatch*, Jan. 2, 1897.

many installments.⁶⁵ There were the usual household and garden hints. Correspondents of all ages wrote letters to the editor and carried on discussions among themselves. Advertisements were devoted to agricultural implements and to items of interest to a rural population. The Cincinnati *Live Stock Record* and the Cleveland *Live Stock News* were more specialized than the *Ohio Farmer*, but did contain items of general interest. Urban dwellers, of course, read city newspapers.

It is doubtful if S. M. Pickett, a farm lecturer, painted an accurate picture of rural reading habits when he said "It is no shocking sight in this day to see lying on the farmer's table not only a farm journal, but very likely the 'Chautauqua,' or 'Review of Reviews.' The children have the 'Youth's Companion' or 'Harpers' Young People.' Then, there, on the book shelves, are—yes, several volumes of our standard historians, biographers, essayists, novelists, and poets, works of the present time as well as of centuries past."⁶⁶ Nineteenth-century Ohioans, like other Americans, were more apt to read a daily or weekly newspaper and perhaps a magazine and consider their intellectual life complete.

In many an Ohio home stood a Sears, Roebuck cottage-type organ elaborately carved and decorated with a mirror. Drawers held popular sheet music and shelves provided room for bric-a-brac so common during the two decades prior to 1900. In the evening when work was done, entire families gathered about the organ to play and sing. In cities the upright piano gradually replaced the organ, but for years demure daughters entertained their wax-mustached beaux at the mail-order organ. Music teachers advertised in small-town newspapers, and small children trudged to instruction with violins under chubby arms.

Sentimental songs of home probably were the most popular of all sheet music played in the parlor. Saturated with sentiment, songs such as "Thoughts of Childhood," "Tomorrow," and "I'll Comfort

⁶⁵ *Ohio Farmer*, Jan. 7, 1897.

⁶⁶ *Ohio Agr. Rep.*, 1893, 472.

Thee" enjoyed a wide sale at twenty cents a copy.⁶⁷ Music folios were given gratis with newspaper subscriptions. They contained both vocal and instrumental numbers. Usually described as "sweet melodies of the past and present," the albums included titles like "Go and Forget," "Ben Bolt," "The Last Watch," "Massa's in De Cold Ground," and "Angels' Serenade."⁶⁸ During the eighties a popular number was "I Had Fifteen Dollars in My Inside Pocket."

Ohioans found innumerable songs to their taste appearing in the gay nineties. Melodramatic though they were they reflected the taste of the people. Evenings at home were spent singing "Sucking Cider Through a Straw," "My Sweetheart's the Man in the Moon," "Two Little Girls in Blue," "And Her Golden Hair Was Hanging Down Her Back," "Sunshine in Paradise Alley," "The Picture that Is Turned to the Wall," "Whistling Rufus," and "Only a Bird in a Gilded Cage." Two other well-known favorites were "The Moth and the Flame," and "The Rosary."

About this same time a comic variety team cut loose on the New York boards with songs more rollicking than anything previously heard in Ohio. The songs of Edward Harrigan and Tony Hart, stimulated by the rhythm of Dave Braham, swept the Nation. "Sing at the Hallway Door," "The Babies on Our Block," and "The Skidmore Fancy Ball" found instant popularity. Perhaps "Mulligan Guards," appearing in 1873 to satirize the customary practice in New York of identifying patriotic organizations with ward politics, is the best remembered of all the Harrigan and Hart compositions. Although the words of the chorus are now forgotten, the tune is well-known as a favorite among military bands.

Two lovely, tender songs were the heritage of the decade after the Civil War. Remembered today by thousands, "Silver Threads among the Gold" and "Sweet Genevieve" are a part of the sentimental music of the seventies. The music for the first was written by Hart Pease Danks to accompany a poem that he had seen in a magazine. His song was a tremendous success, but Danks died alone and

⁶⁷ *Ohio Farmer*, May 15, 1880.

⁶⁸ *Oxford News*, Oct. 29, 1897.

impoverished in a Philadelphia rooming house. "Sweet Genevieve," written by George Cooper to immortalize his bride who died soon after marriage, weaves persistently through the memories of those who love great love songs.

The 1880's, not very elegant with the smoke of new factories and the noises of new industry, produced two popular songs exemplifying the comic and the sentimental. "Where Did You Get that Hat?" written by Joseph J. Sullivan, a New York variety performer, rapidly caught public taste, and the swing chorus was soon a Broadway and national favorite.

"Where did you get that hat?
Where did you get that tile?
Isn't it a nobby one,
And just the proper style?
I should like to have one,
Just the same as that!
Wherever I go they shout!
'Hello! Where did you get
that hat!'"

"Little Annie Rooney," although written by an Irishman in England, became tremendously popular when Americans first heard it sung by Annie Hart, then playing at the London Theatre. Light as the froth on a stein, the song soon was whistled, played and sung wherever a simple love ballad was appreciated. "She's my sweetheart, I'm her beau" was a chorus-line to be remembered for generations.

Three songs in the gay, sentimental, or somewhat naughty tradition were a part of Ohio's musical interests. "After the Ball," "The Bowery," and "Oh, Promise Me" ranged in spirit from a sob twister through a comic tale of city pitfalls to music almost a prerequisite for weddings. Many and many a time these three songs were wheezed out on the family organ and some particularly musical member of the group would "come in" with his cornet. "Farewell, My Bluebell," "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree," and "There'll Be a

Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight" are all reminiscent of this romantic period. As Ohio swung into the twentieth century, clerks in detachable cuffs and celluloid collars pulled log-chain watch fobs across slim fronts, struck an attitude and, when the boss wasn't looking, noiselessly hummed a few bars from "In the Good Old Summer Time." Birds and trees and shady lanes and walking hand-in-hand in clover were all in the mind of the minstrel, George Evans, when he and a friend wrote that fascinating title.

No tunes were more popular than those friends of the tipplers, "Casey Jones" and "Sweet Adeline." The former told of Casey Jones, intrepid engineer who was eight hours late with the western mail, who mounted to his cabin for a farewell trip to the promised land. The latter was a favorite among lamppost and fraternity quartettes. Sober citizens shivered when Richard Gerard's and Harry Armstrong's "Sweet Adeline" came caterwauling through the peaceful night. It is ironical, indeed, that this inebriates' lament should have been introduced by a quartette called the Quaker City Four.

Education has been the concern of Ohio since pioneer days. The State Constitution recognized the necessity of knowledge and charged the General Assembly to pass suitable laws encouraging schools and the means of instruction. As a result, the Ohio system of public education is the result of the Constitution and statutory laws.⁶⁹

In 1858, the State Commissioner of Common Schools showed the relationship between adequate schooling and competent citizenship. He quoted a Prussian doctrine to the effect that "whatever you would have appear in a nation's life, you must put into the schools," and he indicated briefly the type of instruction necessary for Ohio's youth. Insisting upon "practical" educational training, he said the goal of child-training was health, manners, intellectual discipline and morality.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Ohio, *School Laws* (ed. by Lewis D. Bonebrake), 1900, 5. Centennial Committee on Education in Ohio, *A History of Education in the State of Ohio* (Columbus, 1876), chap. I.

⁷⁰ Report of Common Schools, 1857, 46-7. Centennial Committee on Education in Ohio, *Historical Sketches of Public Schools . . . of the State of Ohio* (Columbus, 1876), *passim*.

By 1870, some seven hundred thousand children were enrolled in the common schools of the State. By this time many of the earlier problems of organization and administration had been solved, the high school had been accepted, and the controversy between certain schools of educational philosophy had been ironed out. Yet few significant reforms in the educational system of the State occurred between 1870 and the turn of the century. On the other hand, the years prior to 1900 saw certain movements under way. More children were attending school, compulsory education was being adopted, more money was being spent for public education, more high schools were being established in rural districts, and more improvement was taking place in the curriculum and in the training of teachers. Not until 1914, however, did Ohio's school system become really modern.⁷¹

Organization of public schools was rather a complicated affair. In 1853, an act reorganizing the common schools put authority into the hands of township boards, but failed to abolish the district board.⁷² The resulting confusion in jurisdiction between district and township boards continued until the 1890's when the township board was given full responsibility. Membership on the board was by popular election.⁷³ By 1900, common schools were "graded" and district schools were being consolidated. In addition to township schools, there existed city, village and special districts from the 1850's until past the turn of the century. From 1873 to 1900, a variety of changes took place which only confused, rather than clarified, the school organization of city districts. The general reforms in the school laws of 1914 did away with much confusion, reorganized the township district and gave Ohio a modern rural school district.

Of more interest to the average citizen, however, probably was the change toward compulsory education which took place after the Civil War, although the idea had been formulated much earlier.

⁷¹ E. H. Roseboom and F. P. Weisenburger, *A History of Ohio* (New York, 1934), chap. 17.

⁷² *Ohio, School Laws* (ed. by E. E. White), 1865, 5-8.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1900, 52.



28. A COLD MORNING IN AN OHIO COUNTRY SCHOOL

Harper's Weekly, Feb. 13, 1875.

In 1877, Ohio children were obliged under the law to attend twelve weeks of instruction during each school year. The act, however, applied, only to ages between eight and fourteen and contained many exceptions which rendered the statute ineffective. On April 25, 1890, the General Assembly passed an act to compel children under fourteen years to attend school a certain length of time each year. The act was amended and was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the State.

By this act, parents living in city districts were obliged to send their children to school for not less than twenty weeks during each academic year; in special, village and township districts, not less than sixteen weeks in each academic year; and all children between the ages of eight and sixteen years were to attend school for the full

term unless excused for some specific reason which the law indicated.⁷⁴ In 1921, the Bing Law made attendance mandatory between the ages of six and eighteen.

The high school, of course, did not gain prominence in Ohio until 1921 when the Bing Act insisted upon the education of pupils who had completed the elementary courses of instruction and were not yet eighteen years of age. Until then the high school essentially had been an urban or large town institution. As early as 1870, however, townships and districts reported about a hundred and twenty-two high schools in use throughout the State, but the commissioner of education felt that this total was too great, as many superintendents had reported grade schools as high schools.⁷⁵ In 1880, only thirteen townships maintained separate high school buildings, but about seven hundred teachers were instructing in high school classes.⁷⁶

A course of study recommended by the North-Eastern Ohio Teachers' Association in Cleveland in 1870 was in the classical tradition and included four years of Latin; three years of mathematics, followed by a year of mental philosophy and logic; four years of natural philosophy, including natural history, physiology, botany, chemistry and geology; four years of modern language, including German, or French; and four years of English literature, declamation and composition. History included general history, English history, Roman antiquity and mythology and political economy. Gradually, the curriculum expanded to include more practical subjects. By 1880, bookkeeping was included, but no great inclusion of vocational studies, for example, was to come until after the turn of the century. As a matter of fact, the term "high school" was vague in the State until 1902 when it was defined by law and three grades of high schools established. Only then did such subjects as fell under commercial, occupational and industrial categories begin to enter the secondary level.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 145-6.

⁷⁵ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1870, II, 727, 684.

⁷⁶ *Report of Common Schools*, 1880, 87, 91.

In the main, the common schools of the State followed the classical pattern as did the high schools. Reading, writing and arithmetic were emphasized, and spelling, penmanship and geography were taught in all lower grades. Drawing and vocal music were concessions to what was known as general culture. United States history was recommended for the first grade, but only as an aid to elocutionary drill. No instruction was provided for physical development, although as early as 1866, John A. Norris, commissioner of common schools, said that "in our haste to perfect a system of popular education, we have neglected the part that looks to physical training and that muscular development so necessary to a healthy body."⁷⁷ He urged that the school of the soldier be introduced into the schools. Not until the rise of the gymnasiums and of intercollegiate athletics in the eighties and nineties were systems of physical exercise to become prevalent.

The training and salary of teachers underwent a gradual evolution during the thirty years from 1870 to the beginning of a new century. The basis of teacher training for years was the institution known as the normal school. Adequate preparation for teaching was simple before the Civil War if the recommendations of a school official were typical. Normal school attendance for four or five months was suggested. The candidate for teaching "should briefly review his common school studies, under the instruction of thorough and accomplished Professors; giving particular attention to Orthography and Reading. In this way would he acquire the art of teaching."⁷⁸

In 1880, it was charged that thousands of Ohio teachers were not "in possession of a moderate degree of fitness" for instructing the young.⁷⁹ Certificates were granted for periods ranging from six months to twenty-four months. In 1870, more than twenty-five thousand applied for teaching certificates. Of these 23.6 per cent were refused. Candidates were examined by boards appointed for that

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1866, 58.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1857, 28.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1880, 34.

purpose. Questions were submitted orally, by printed slips and by being written on the blackboard.⁸⁰

In 1873, seven institutions in Ohio referred to themselves in their incorporated titles as "normal schools." These included the Western Reserve Normal Institute, Milan; National Normal School, Lebanon; and Ohio Central Normal School, Worthington.⁸¹ The number of normal schools continued to train teachers until the various universities of the State began to organize pedagogical departments. These led to the establishment of schools of education. In 1880, Governor Foster said that the great end of the State school system to be sought was to secure good teachers for every school.⁸² In 1890, Ohio University was enlarging its educational department.⁸³ Meanwhile Miami University and other institutions were offering instruction of the same type. It was not until 1902, however, that the State created two normal schools under its jurisdiction. One was established in connection with Miami University and another with Ohio University. Eight years later, Bowling Green State Normal College was founded, and in 1913, Kent State Normal College was created.

The many institutes for teachers, organized as early as the 1840's in Ohio, supplemented the work of the privately owned normal school. In 1873, the institute became a permanent part of Ohio's educational system. Subsequent legislation governed the function of institutes in detail.⁸⁴ After the turn of the century when the State created normal schools, the teachers' institutes lost much of their original importance. In 1880, about ten thousand persons attended the eighty-seven institutes held in eighty-six counties. That institutes failed to accomplish all that was hoped for them is indicated in the comment that many teachers sat through sessions "calmly awaiting that relief which time has never yet failed to bring to an

⁸⁰ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1870, II, 786-92.

⁸¹ *Ohio Stat.*, 1873, 418.

⁸² *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1880, I, 526.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1890, I, 688.

⁸⁴ *Ohio, School Laws*, 1900, 181-4.

audience."⁸⁵ Hundreds of men throughout the State girded themselves with stubborn facts and arranged their thoughts in flowing language in order to lecture in July or August to assembled teachers.⁸⁶

Teachers' salaries varied during the period from 1873 to 1900, but, in general, the prevailing practice was to hire good teachers for as little money as possible. In 1870, the average monthly wage for men teachers in township primary schools was thirty-eight dollars and for women twenty-four dollars; male high school teachers received fifty-two dollars and women forty-three dollars; male teachers in separate district primary schools received seventy-four dollars, and women forty-two dollars; and men teachers in separate district high schools received ninety-three dollars and women fifty-six dollars.⁸⁷ Ten years later the average generally ran a little lower, and in 1890 the average had risen to about the 1870 level.⁸⁸ It varied little from then until after 1900 when it slowly rose. Eighty dollars a month was considered high wages. It was said that in Lawrence County few country school teachers could make a respectable living and that "as our schools are now constituted, no person of education and culture is going to enter them as a teacher, unless it be an occasional one, who takes teaching as a stepping-stone to something else."⁸⁹ It was further pointed out that teachers should devote their entire energies to teaching and not attempt to engage in outside activities and maintain outside interests.

Higher education grew by leaps and bounds after the Civil War. The General Assembly passed an act on March 22, 1870, to establish and maintain an Agricultural and Mechanical College of Ohio. At the same time it passed an act enabling first-class cities to aid and promote education, which statute resulted in the organization of the municipal University of Cincinnati. The State institution, lo-

⁸⁵ *Report of Common Schools, 1880*, 33.

⁸⁶ *Ohio Exec. Doc., 1870*, II, 817-21.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 688.

⁸⁸ *Ohio Stat., 1890*, 537.

⁸⁹ *Report of Common Schools, 1880*, 257.

cated on the Neil farm, north of Columbus,⁹⁰ was made possible by federal aid, the Morrill Act of 1862 granting each state thirty thousand acres of public land for each senator and representative in Congress. The income from this land was to endow, support and maintain colleges primarily devoted to agriculture and mechanics. In 1864, six hundred thirty thousand acres of public land were received by the State and sold for about fifty-three cents an acre. From the opening of the institution in 1873, its curriculum was broader than was intended by those who wished merely scientific training for rural life and problems. In 1878, the name was changed to the Ohio State University and, although farm subjects were taught, cultural courses were included. In 1891, a direct state tax levy assured financial aid and the university rapidly forged ahead. In 1877, a school of mines and mining was approved by the authorities; in 1882, an agricultural experiment station was provided for; plans for the establishment of a medical school were made during the following decade; and a law school began its work in Hayes Hall in 1894.⁹¹

In 1880, two hundred seventeen students were attending the university and twelve departments had been established. The first department created was that of geology. Its courses were taught by the president of the university, Edward Orton. In its early days, instruction in the classics and social sciences was influenced by the German educational regime.⁹² Agricultural problems were worked out in shop, barn and laboratory. Thirteen men composed the faculty in 1880. Ten years later the staff numbered twenty-one, and four hundred and seventy-one students were enrolled.⁹³ A glance at the curriculum shows a decided bent toward the classical, as well as toward the agricultural. The university grew slowly during the

⁹⁰ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1870, I, 944. Centennial Committee on Education in Ohio, *Historical Sketches of the Higher Educational Institutions and Also of Benevolent and Reformatory Institutions of the State of Ohio* (Columbus, 1876), 16.

⁹¹ Thomas C. Mendenhall, ed., *History of The Ohio State University* (Columbus, 1920), I, *passim*. George W. Knight and John R. Commons, *The History of Higher Education in Ohio* (Washington, D. C., 1891), chap. III.

⁹² *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1880, II, 866.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1890, III, 327.

nineties and did not make spectacular progress either in faculty, enrollment, or equipment until after 1900.

In 1896, Miami University, at Oxford, and Ohio University, at Athens, were recipients of a direct State tax levy and became State institutions in every sense of the term. Wilberforce University, Xenia, was granted State aid for its normal and industrial departments in 1887. Miami University which had been "largely reorganized" in 1888 had a faculty of ten in 1890 and a student body, including preparatory students, of sixty, not all of whom were in full standing.⁹⁴ The reorganization, no doubt, was necessary for in 1877 it was said that the Miami University Library had been carelessly managed and a decade later that great irregularity existed throughout the institution.⁹⁵ Amusing conflicts of jurisdiction between administrative officials and faculty members upset academic calm as late as 1888. Upon one occasion R. W. McFarland, president, objected strenuously to a professor's assigning one of the most desirable campus rooms to his personal servant. The instructor's reply was crisp. "I do understand," he wrote the president, "that you are wholly subject to the control of the Executive Committee. When the Committee, through its proper officers, gives directions, I shall comply."⁹⁶

Ohio University had an instructional staff of eighteen and a student body of one hundred and ninety-one, including those in the preparatory department.⁹⁷ Both institutions devoted themselves largely to the classical and philosophical curricula and were interested in pedagogical courses. Wilberforce University, opened before the Civil War, was devoted to the education of the Negro. Among the other institutions of higher learning in Ohio were Oberlin College, which came to new prominence under the presidency of Henry

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 477-80.

⁹⁵ R. W. McFarland to Miami University Executive Committee, Oxford, Sept. 7, 1877, McFarland MSS. (Miami University Library); E. D. Warfield to the President and Trustees of Miami University, Oxford, [1890], Warfield MSS. (Miami University Library).

⁹⁶ R. W. McFarland to J. R. S. Sterrett, Oxford, Jan. 3, 1888, McFarland MSS.; J. R. S. Sterrett to R. W. McFarland, Oxford, Jan. 3, 1888, McFarland MSS.

⁹⁷ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1890, I, 712.

Churchill King; Western Reserve University; Otterbein; and Antioch. In 1900, the percentage of persons of total-age groups attending school in Ohio were: from five to nine years, fifty-nine per cent; from ten to fourteen years, ninety-one per cent; and from fifteen to twenty years, twenty-nine and a half per cent.

No group was more enthusiastic toward education than the farmers of Ohio. It was believed in some quarters that only the common man understood what free education for the masses meant and that "privileged" groups were antagonistic to the common school. In 1864, an Ohio educationalist spoke of that "illiberal and narrow-minded spirit of capital which seeks to narrow and dwarf the instruction of the common school to the simple rudiments of knowledge; that, forgetting that the laboring man in this country is neither a disfranchised peasant nor a slave, insists that mental moonlight is just as good for his rude duties as sunlight."⁹⁸ The farmer was interested in education in order that he might compete successfully and intelligently with an "age of great monopolies and competition," and that he might increase and protect the productiveness of his land. Rural lads were urged to study natural philosophy, mechanics, history, government, physiology, hygiene, chemistry, geology and entomology.⁹⁹ Many farmers held that no occupation required more varied information, a sounder judgment and more common sense than cultivating the soil and raising crops. They urged that schools be improved and that teachers be of the best quality. If school boards think it a matter of economy, said a lecturer, to employ a teacher because his services are cheap, they may expect to have a cheap school in more senses than one. Good schools and competent teachers were emphasized again and again at farmers' institutes.¹⁰⁰

Common schools were not accepted without criticism. In 1872, J. B. Turner charged that the Ohio schools failed to meet the demands of modern civilization. He said that children were expected

⁹⁸ *Report of Common Schools, 1864*, 63.

⁹⁹ *Ohio Agr. Rep., 1885*, 429.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid., 1873*, 480-6.

to master too much and that the curse of thoroughness was an evil throughout education. "A child should be taught to read, write, cipher, well enough for a child, not for a man, an expert, a writing-master, a stage player, a United States Senator, or an investigator of Tammany Hall accounts." The objective of reading, he continued, is to teach the child to understand ideas, and not to train him to read aloud for the benefit of others. In writing, clearness was desired and not ornamentation. Geography was characterized as impractical and grammar was condemned as a "host of memorized rules." Turner actually waxed eloquent when he described his conception of the teaching of arithmetic. "Suppose you take a boy," he said, "and tie upon his back all imaginable sorts of tin-cups, and gill cups, and quart and gallon cups; lace him tight with all sorts of tape-lines, strings, sticks, chains, and measures; fill his pockets with all sorts of old coin and spring steelyards; put all sorts of peck measures, baskets, and bushels over his head, already filled brimful with all imaginable sorts of fractions and rules of fractions, and send him thus equipped out into life, because he may happen to want to weigh or measure something, you don't know exactly what, in after years, and you wish him to have his apparatus always with him, right at hand." Education such as this, Turner concluded ironically, was as well-rounded as a stovepipe and just as hollow.¹⁰¹

Farmers' institutes, like county fairs and agricultural societies, essentially were educational in character. Early in the nineties, the institute in Ohio became so prominent that a State association was formed under the auspices of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture. In 1879-1898 the institute season ran from November until the following March and six circuits ran concurrently with the exception of one week in January when the Farmers' Institute convened in Columbus. Two hundred and thirty-four institutes were held in all with an average attendance of about 368 persons. Thirty-seven lecturers from the agricultural department of Ohio State University offered talks on practical subjects of interest to farmers. For example, B. H. Brown, of Oxford, lectured on any of the following

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 1872, 304-21.

topics: "Small Fruits for the Family," "The Farmer's Garden," "Root Crops," "Fruit Trees," "Enemies of the Orchard and Small Fruits," "Special Crops: Onions, Sweet Potatoes, and Beans," and "Winter on the Farm." Ohio men talked on wheat smut, corn culture, the ideal farm home, the Hessian fly, farm literature, "How Far is it to the Klondike?" and growing hogs for profit.¹⁰² Many of the papers were highly theoretical.

To what extent the institute program influenced agricultural life and farm practices is difficult to determine. Only a small percentage of the rural population attended the institutes, but probably those who did were, on the average, more alert and progressive than many who did not. On the other hand, practical farmers could criticize the institute as abstract and fanciful. Regardless of this, the institute offered a forum for an exchange of ideas and served as a cultural center. The Ohio State Agricultural Convention, held annually, reviewed agriculture in the State, nominated members of the State Board of Agriculture, listened to political and agricultural addresses, and passed resolutions pertaining to rural economy and interests. In a loose sense, the agricultural convention was the "upper house" of agricultural interests, and the farmers' institutes, the "lower house."

The decades following the Civil War witnessed also the growth of medical schools throughout the State. Not only did the number of such institutions increase, but medical colleges also improved their courses of study in the light of the new science that was influencing education everywhere. A notable achievement was the admittance of women for training as physicians. In 1870, the Woman's Medical College of Cleveland was providing free dispensary services to persons unable to pay for private consultation. A faculty of twenty-one was giving both academic and clinical training at the college.¹⁰³ Other Cleveland medical colleges were the Homeopathic College which was celebrating eighteen years of service in 1870, the Charity Hospital Medical College which conferred

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 1897, 405-28.

¹⁰³ *Cleveland Leader*, Jan. 22, Feb. 21, 25, 31, 1870.

the degree of Doctor of Medicine upon twenty-five graduates, and the Cleveland Medical College which sent fifty-three young physicians into practice at its commencement early in February.¹⁰⁴ Five years later the Erie Street Medical College and the University of Wooster Medical Department were graduating medical students.¹⁰⁵

The School of Medicine of Western Reserve University was first organized in 1843 as the Cleveland Medical College. A year later this institution became a department of Western Reserve College. The first building was located on what now is East 9th Street and the early instructors included such distinguished names in the annals of Ohio medicine as John Delamater, Jared Potter Kirtland and Samuel St. John. In 1864, the school became associated with the Charity Hospital and in 1878 was afforded joint clinical privileges at the hospital. In 1884, the School of Medicine was given sole clinical privileges at this institution. Other clinical facilities were afforded Western Reserve medical students at the Cleveland City Hospital beginning in 1867.

Medical education in Cincinnati began earlier than that of Cleveland, but followed, in general, the same pattern. The first attempt at medical instruction in the Queen City probably began in 1817 when Dr. Daniel Drake and Dr. Coleman Rogers conducted a course of lectures which marked the beginning of the Medical College of Ohio chartered in 1819. Drake organized the Medical Department of the Cincinnati College in 1835. The Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery was established in 1851 and the Miami Medical College a year later.¹⁰⁶ Some of these schools lasted only a short time, and a few were merged with other institutions.

By 1879 the Medical College of Ohio had a faculty of ten professors, held daily clinics at the Good Samaritan Hospital and charged students special laboratory fees in anatomy and practical chemistry. The Miami Medical College was located opposite the Cincinnati Hospital and was particularly proud of its pathological museum.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 23, 1870.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, Oct. 7, 1875.

¹⁰⁶ Charles T. Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati* (Chicago, 1904), I, 954-6.

The Eclectic Medical Institute and Pulte Medical College were well known. The latter, established in 1872, was said to be one of the largest and best-equipped schools in the country, having twenty-five classrooms and a main amphitheater that seated two hundred students. The Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery, located on George Street, provided regular instruction for students who disliked homeopathic medicine that was then extremely popular throughout the Nation.¹⁰⁷ To win a degree as a doctor of medicine, said a resident of Cincinnati after viewing the city's medical schools, the student "is not necessarily required to be deeply learned outside of his profession, nor highly proficient within its circle. If he attains a grade of easy mediocrity, his college demands no more."¹⁰⁸ By 1902, the Eclectic Medical Institute had graduated 3,743 physicians.¹⁰⁹ The Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery ceased to exist that same year.

One of the most prominent figures in Ohio medicine both before and after 1900 was Dr. Christian R. Holmes, active member of the faculty of the Miami Medical College and president of the Cincinnati Medical Society in 1898 when he was thirty-two years of age. In describing the ideal physician, Holmes also pictured himself: "The physician, well-poised, calm, deliberate; sedate but not gloomy; cheerful, but not clownish; kind but not obtrusive; unruffled by trifles, but careful of everything."¹¹⁰ Holmes also was instrumental in the building of the University of Cincinnati College of Medicine. This institution was the successor of the Miami Medical College and the Ohio Medical College which merged in 1909 as a part of the University of Cincinnati and became the Ohio-Miami Medical College of the University of Cincinnati. Not until 1917 was the name changed to the College of Medicine.

The great medical center of the State, of course, was Columbus

¹⁰⁷ King, *King's Pocket-Book of Cincinnati*, *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ J. S. Tunison, *The Cincinnati Riot: Its Causes and Results* (Cincinnati, 1886), 44.

¹⁰⁹ Lewis A. Leonard, ed., *Greater Cincinnati and Its People* (New York, 1927), I, 235.

¹¹⁰ Martin Fisher, *Christian R. Holmes: Man and Physician* (Springfield, Ill., 1937), 15.

with its medical school attached to the Ohio State University. In 1898, the Starling Medical College which had been chartered in 1848 was offering medical instruction and at the same time the president and trustees of Ohio State University were making plans for the establishment of a medical school. A suggestion to incorporate the Starling Medical College with a new university medical school, however, met with disapproval in 1899, and the plan was discarded temporarily.¹¹¹ Not until 1913 did the legislature authorize the establishment and maintenance of a College of Medicine which was then organized on the basis of the previous negotiations with the Starling Medical College which had become the Starling-Ohio Medical College. A short time later a College of Homeopathic Medicine was established. A College of Dentistry came into existence at the same time.¹¹²

In 1914, the Board of Trustees adopted resolutions establishing the medical and dental schools and made provision for physical equipment and personnel. Dr. W. J. Means was elected dean of the College of Medicine which was organized into the departments of anatomy, pathology and bacteriology, bio-chemistry, physiology, therapeutics, surgery, medicine and clinical medicine, obstetrics and surgical specialties. Twenty-four salaried professors and assistants taught these courses and were assisted by a corps of sixty-six local physicians. Internships were provided in the Protestant Hospital and in St. Francis Hospital. Two hundred and thirty-one students were enrolled in the academic year 1914-1915.¹¹³ Instruction in pharmacy was begun as early as 1883. In 1895, a College of Pharmacy was created with Professor George Beecher Kauffman as its first dean.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Mendenhall, *History of The Ohio State University*, I, 267-77.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, II, 21.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 105.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 106-7.

Growth of Invention and Science

OUR watchword from 1791 to 1891 has been progress," claimed a centennial speaker in 1891 who spoke glowingly of science and invention as unlocking the secret storehouses of Nature and making the humblest citizen the beneficiary of conveniences of which the Ohio pioneer never dreamed.¹

Inventions were hailed on every side as a boon to the working-man, and inventors were said to be giving the American public better clothing, better food, better furniture, better medicine, and better books, tools, and newspapers.² So great, indeed, was the general belief that modern science and ingenuity would aid the masses that an anxious author asked a pertinent question. "What is the good of annihilating the necessity for bodily toil?" he said. "Will not man degenerate spiritually as he comes to possess luxury at cheaper and cheaper rates?"³ Another skeptic believed that an increase in inventions decreased opportunities for employment and still another felt that there were inherent evils in a nation that became a nation of inventors.⁴ Patents were said to be increasing at the rate of three hundred a week in 1876, and the *Nation* predicted two years later that it was "perfectly safe to assure the inventive talent of this country that flying machinery may have a future, that human speech may be transmitted beneath the ocean or around the globe."⁵

¹ D. W. McClung, ed., *Centennial Anniversary of the City of Hamilton, Ohio* (Hamilton, 1892), 103, 107.

² Edward C. Williams, "The Effect of Inventions Upon Labor and Morals," *Chautauquan* (Meadville, Pa.), XXVIII (1899), 559.

³ W. T. Harris, "The New Civilization Depends on Mechanical Invention," *Monist* (Chicago), II (1891), 1.

⁴ W. H. Babcock, "The Future of Invention," *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), XLIV (1879), 137; Charles Davis, "The United States—A Nation of Inventors," *World's Work* (New York), VI (1903), 349.

⁵ "Our Patent System," *Nation* (New York), XXIII (1876), 260; *ibid.*, XXVII (1878), 396.

Ohio did not lag in the national development of science and invention. In the seventeen years from 1840 to 1857, about sixty new types of manufacturing were introduced into the State. Industrialists, aided by new mechanical aids and stimulated by an ever-increasing number of patents, were producing locomotives, steam fire engines, gas works, grates, lightning rods and composition roofs. In 1853, sixty-six patents were issued to men of Ohio. Four years later, the number had almost doubled.⁶ Each year added new machines to Buckeye industries. Cincinnati clothing manufacturers increased their production greatly after the sewing machine was introduced into the industry about 1856.⁷ It was a matter for official comment by Governor Bartley in 1845 when a set of standard weights and measures, including three scale beams of extreme accuracy, were received from the Federal Government for Ohio use.⁸ When precision instruments could be made, that was a time of progress.

The tremendous bent toward clever gadgets and labor-saving devices and the consistent improvement of engines, turbines, drills, and lathes, of course, was not peculiar to Ohio. The Yankee jack-of-all-trades, years before, had made a name for himself, but it was not in New England alone that ingenuity flourished. Sam Slicks were working in every state of the Union. The Industrial Revolution had stirred American imaginations and stimulated nimble fingers and sharp brains. A young patent office was being swamped with applications, and a meager staff scurried to file papers and investigate conflicting claims. Ohioans were as practical as other Americans. They were transforming a state which once had been primarily forest and agricultural into one of the mightiest industrial areas between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Profits were in the air and Ohio wanted its share.

Ohio inventors gradually increased in number through the decades. They were primarily interested in creating devices which

⁶ *Ohio Laws, Statutes* (Curwen), 1857, 31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1858, 34.

⁸ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1845, Vol. X, pt. 1, p. 687.

could be sold and which, when put into use, would make money. There were few long-haired visionaries, aimlessly working in attic shops during the Civil War period. Ohioans who were making improvements upon old methods and who were devising new techniques were mainly men engaged in business or manufacture. They were improving processes or machine practices which they knew well. It was a part of a day's work with them to make constructive changes. Some failed, others became successful. The search for technological improvements relentlessly pushed on. In one week during 1877 twelve Ohioans received patents on inventions ranging from a rotary engine to a carpet beater.⁹

Mechanical progress was of four types. The discovery or use of new laws, forces and materials; the invention of new ways of utilizing what had been discovered; the improvement in designs embodying inventions; and increased skill in the making and handling of what had been designed.¹⁰ Ohioans utilized all types in their research and progress. Each strove for novelty in producing a new substance, or an old one in a new way, such "as new machinery, or a new combination of the parts of an old one, as devising an operation in a peculiar, better, cheaper, or quicker method, or as a new mechanical employment of principles already known."¹¹ Only a small number of Buckeye inventors, however, actually became rich as the result of their labors. In this they were no different from brother craftsmen throughout the Nation.¹² Nevertheless, Ohio inventors busily kept at work.

In 1879, about seven hundred patents were granted to residents of Ohio. Ten years later over fifteen hundred were issued, and in 1899, the number dropped to about thirteen hundred. The decade of the seventies saw the invention of innumerable types of farm implements and agricultural machinery. The eighties witnessed im-

⁹ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1877.

¹⁰ C. L. Redfield, "The Relation of Invention and Design to Mechanical Progress," *Engineering Magazine* (New York), XII (1896), 286.

¹¹ Oliver E. Lyman, "Novelty in Patents," *Popular Science Monthly* (New York), XV (1879), 612.

¹² Harwood Huntington, "Is It Worth While to Take Out a Patent?" *Forum* (New York), XXIV (1898), 606.

provements in factory machinery and railroad equipment, and the gay nineties observed many specialized tools, machinery and labor-saving devices. By 1900, Ohio inventors were patenting ideas, models, and designs beyond description.

Buckeye inventors were scattered over the State. They lived in small villages and large cities. Occasional inventors might be found almost anywhere. Professional patentees primarily were found in the great industrial centers, such as Cleveland, Cincinnati, Springfield, Toledo and Akron. The fertile mind of both amateur and professional toyed with new concepts ranging from mighty presses to vegetable slicers.

Cleveland inventors during the period from 1870 to 1880 included Jonathan Abbott who took extreme pride in an adjustable stove pipe; William Beecher who improved the hot-air furnace; James E. Driesbach who brought out a smoke and dust excluder; Jonathan Forman who designed a paper-ruling machine; and Charles Gordon who perfected a car lamp. Isaac M. Thatcher achieved local fame with a mustache guard guaranteed to keep docile the mighty lip decorations so popular during the era.¹³ A Put-in-Bay inventor maintained that he had invented a shoe which enabled him to walk upon water and a Clevelander proudly announced the invention of an electrical gadget to awaken sleepy servants. A bell rang in the servant's room and continued to sound until she walked to the kitchen to disconnect it.¹⁴

So great was interest in inventions in Cincinnati that newspapers picked up and gave considerable space to a popular song of the day that ridiculed the inventor:

"While some other fellows who haven't a cent,
Are on a most wonderful patent intent;
And perpetual motion they'd like to invent;
But they can't do it, you know." ¹⁵

¹³ Unless otherwise indicated data for this chapter is drawn from the United States Patent Office, *Official Gazette* (Washington, D. C., 1872-1900); United States Commissioner of Patents, *Reports* (Washington, D. C., 1870-1900).

¹⁴ *Cleveland Leader*, Feb. 15, Mar. 8, 1875.

¹⁵ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 9, 1886.

Despite such gentle fun, Queen City inventors continued to tinker and to receive patents. Charles Anderson and A. E. Briggs, for example, devised a telephone and microphone switch that was a superior device. John S. Blymeyer took out a patent on an evaporating pan, and Edwin B. Cassidy on a baker's oven. Cyriac Du Brul was able to produce a cigar-cutter that was both efficient and cheap. Charles Gissert and Joseph Hall were experimenting with devices both for locking and unlocking the doors of safes. Pierre F. Jaute made improvements upon the treadle of sewing machines, and Michael Schultz created a steam pump.

Springfield brains were equally busy. From that industrial city came designs and plans for pipe joints, wire fences, car couplings, clothes wringers, seeding machines and sewing machines. In Toledo and Akron, men were petitioning the Federal Government for patents upon printing presses, artificial bases for honeycombs and springs for vehicles. The great implement plants in Springfield, Canton, Massillon, Dayton and Hamilton, of course, stimulated interest in agricultural tools and machinery. From such centers came plans for the perfection of drills, reapers, cultivators and mowers. Ohio exhibitors of agricultural implements at the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876 won about forty medals and diplomas.¹⁶

Among Ohio's prominent agricultural-implement inventors was Joseph Allonas of Mansfield, who patented a grain separator, threshing machine and portable engine. Albert Ball was born in Stark County in 1812 and before he was thirty years of age had tried his hand as an architect, stonemason, carpenter, painter and purchasing agent. In 1851, he moved to Canton to begin manufacture of the famous "Hussey Reaper," the "Ohio Mower" and other agricultural machinery. Ball's mower was a two-wheeled machine with a flexible finger bar. In 1865, he sold over ten thousand of his "New American" harvesters. Although Ball died in 1872, his machines continued to function in Ohio almost until the turn of the century.¹⁷ In Piqua,

¹⁶ Ohio State Board of Centennial Managers, *Report* (Columbus, 1877), 62-3.

¹⁷ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, I, 551-2; Leicester Allen, "The Early Life of Great Inventors," *Engineering Magazine*, VII (1894), 644.

Edward A. Baird and A. T. Gale designed a cultivator upon which farmers looked with favor. J. Oscar Baird constructed a windmill near his Vienna Cross Roads home that was the envy of his neighbors. The outstanding Bellefontaine inventor was Blanchard Chamberlain who patented two grain binders and a barrel bung in 1880. Two years later Chamberlain established patent rights to a grain measure, a windmill motor and governor, a cleaning attachment for threshing machines and an apparatus for heating railroad cars. In 1883, Austin Evans, of Springfield, secured the rights to a fertilizing attachment for corn planters, a harrow, a corn planter as well as a seat-bar for vehicles. Four years later Evans was applying for and receiving patents on a seeding machine and a locomotive ash pan.

Another distinguished inventor and manufacturer of agricultural implements was Lewis Miller, born in Greentown in 1829, who began to make machines in Canton in 1852. He moved to Akron in 1863, remaining there until his death in 1899. It was Miller who developed the double-jointed cutting-bar of the mowing machine, the "low down" binder and a device for binding reaped grain with twine.¹⁸

It must be remembered, however, that although many Ohioans were improving, perfecting and designing farm machinery, few Buckeyes were pioneer inventors of agricultural implements. M. Robbins, of Cincinnati, did patent a wire check-rower in 1857 by which corn could be planted in even rows. His machines proved unsatisfactory and the final solution was made by others.¹⁹ Obed Hussey, born in Maine of Quaker stock, completed the construction of a full-size reaper in Cincinnati in 1833. Patent on this reaper was granted him on December 31, 1833. Hussey's reaper was horse-drawn from the front, with the cutter set off to one side, back of which was a platform to catch the cut grain. The cutter itself was a reciprocating saw-toothed knife sliding between upper and lower

¹⁸ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, XII, 634.

¹⁹ Waldemar Kaempffert, *A Popular History of American Invention* (New York, 1924), II, 262-3.

guard fingers and was drawn by a pitman from a crankshaft operated through gear wheels from the main drive wheels.²⁰ This machine was in operation about a year before McCormick developed his machine. Hussey's cutter was the most novel part of his reaper and it was copied by other inventors and manufacturers, but if a New England Yankee outsmarted Ohioans in the invention of a reaper, a Buckeye led all others with a grain binder. John E. Heath, of Warren, secured the first and pioneer patent on a grain binder in 1850 and immediately began to market mowers with binders attached.²¹

The Heath binder and mowing machine was in use in Ohio for many years after the Civil War. Another popular machine in use throughout the State was a thresher designed by Hiram A. Pitts, a native of Maine. The Buffalo-Pitts thresher was manufactured in Springfield before 1850 and improvements were made on it during the next score of years. In 1882, a Columbus concern, Reeves and Company, developed a stacker which carried straw by conveyor belt and deposited it in a horseshoe-shaped stack. If Ohioans pioneered few agricultural inventions, they did contribute many refinements and innovations.

In 1882, for example, John Davis, a hard-working Toledo mechanic, improved a grain carrier, a grain binder and a binding machine. A year later Albert Ball, of Canton, was making a model of his sulky plow and was working on a new type of plow point. Corn planters were further improved in 1884 by Andrew Runsteller, of Dayton. In 1885, John Long, of Hamilton, received patent protection on two types of horse rakes. A versatile chap, Long also invented a roller skate, a lubricator and a punching device. Five years later, a middle-aged native of Niles, James Morgan, made improvements upon a fertilizing machine.

Hundreds of patents, of course, were issued to Ohioans whose ingenuity had devised some type of farm household utensil or who

²⁰ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, IX, 431-2.

²¹ Kaempffert, *A Popular History of American Invention*, II, 277-9; Edward W. Byrn, *The Progress of Invention in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1900), chap. XVI.

had improved an existing model. Many of these patentees never put their inventions into production. Most of them were not to realize a cent of profit. Nevertheless, the number of applications made by clever farmers of the State indicate sharp minds. In 1879, for example, William Bradberry, of the pleasant hamlet of Darrtown not far from Hamilton and Oxford, patented a churn. Innumerable churning devices were patented before the close of the century. In Toledo, Lewis S. Bortree was perfecting pantaloons and overalls for Ohio farmers. In 1881, Martin L. Edward, of Salem, proudly demonstrated a home meat chopper which had been approved by the patent office. Ironing boards, lamps, wicks, kitchen stoves, curtain poles and carpet sweepers were all added to the growing list of small things invented by farmers or their friends for use in rural communities.

The trend, of course, was away from agricultural implements and toward heavy machinery and labor-saving devices. By the turn of the century, few Ohioans were interesting themselves in farm tools. In the first place, the great implement factories gradually were moving farther west to be near the trans-Mississippi corn and wheat areas; in the second place, Ohio was becoming more and more an industrial, rather than a rural, state; and finally, most of the major improvements had been made on agricultural machinery by 1900. Industrial machines and electrical apparatus, on the other hand, were in the ascendency from 1870 to 1900.

Industrial machinery and automatic machine tools, of course, depended upon the application of steam as power to factory devices and implements. An interchangeable-parts system further aided rapid production of machine-made products. Anything, then, pertaining to steam engines, specialized machines, or easily changed parts was of intense interest to the inventor and industrialist. In Ohio, clever mechanics patented scores of devices, tools and precision machines.

In 1879, for example, William Church of Salem constructed a condenser for a steam engine, and Samuel Clark of Cleveland secured rights on a steam boiler furnace. In the same year, Ezra Cope

and J. R. Maxwell of Hamilton and Cincinnati made improvements upon the steam engine, and Charles G. Cooper of Mt. Vernon produced a traction engine of radical design. In Ironton, Gordon Frederick patented a steam valve. Other Ohioans were experimenting with machines to cut and press sheet metal into patterns. Among the early individuals interested in this problem were John F. Currier who made a machine in Cincinnati which would bend sheet metal into roofing plates. Another Cincinnatian, George Everson, patented a machine for bending sheets of metal. Once this could be done an almost endless variety of sheet-metal products, such as roofing plates and troughs, could be produced on a large scale. In 1881, Benjamin L. Blanchard, in Cleveland, secured rights to a machine for forging horseshoe nails, and Henry Bickford, in Cincinnati, developed a feeding device for drilling machines. This meant, of course, that with an automatic feeding-device production could be stepped up.

William H. Doane, one of Cincinnati's cleverest inventors, was combining several functions in one complicated machine. In 1881, for example, Doane patented a grinding machine, a planing machine, a wheelwright machine, and a sandpapering machine. In Marion, another inventor, was experimenting with boilers and furnaces. Edward Huber manufactured a satisfactory governor for a steam engine, but his straw-burning furnace was only one of the many dreams which never came true. Huber also made improvements upon threshing and separating machines. Christ Adler, of Milton Center, interested in the primary problem of regulating the speed of engines and machines which so many American inventors faced, devised a speed and motion regulator for machines in 1882. Latham Brightman of Cleveland aided the iron industry by creating a machine which straightened round bar iron and another machine which drew metal bars. Both were of aid to a rapidly growing northern Ohio industry. The following year, Isaac Craig, in the little town of Camden, was able to perfect a device for the manufacture of sheet iron. In Dayton, John Livingston perfected and patented three roller mills.

Other Ohio inventors were experimenting in a variety of fields. In Alliance, Johnson Craft perfected a machine for making the eyes of shoes; in Cleveland, Frank Murgatroyd made mechanisms for hoisting heavy freight and ore; and in Bucyrus, John Thompson patented a traveling crane and derrick. In 1884, so great was the need for hoisting equipment along the Great Lakes that Alexander Brown of Cleveland patented five different hoisting and conveying machines. The iron and ore industry of northern Ohio stimulated local inventors still further. In 1885, Frank Billings, intimately acquainted with metal working, devised an apparatus for casting metal ingots. A tag-cutting and punching machine was invented by Charles Colaban, also of Cleveland, and Eugene Cowles began pioneering in electrical smelting furnaces. In 1886, John Walker aided Cleveland workers with the invention of a toolholder, a shaft hanger attachment, a lubricating mechanism for journal boxes, a mold for castings, a roller mill and a traveling crane.

Cleveland, however, was not entirely devoted to the ore industry. During the eighties paper mills were doing business. In 1888, Daniel Appel made revolutionary changes in three types of paper bags and in the making of bags. In addition, he patented a machine for bag production. Laboring men throughout the State were aided by a Canton inventor in 1889 who improved the brace-chuck, the bevel and the hand punch. In Buckingham, David Davis devised a coal drill.

Edmund Lunkenheimer in Cincinnati did much of the preliminary work on engine lubrication. In 1891, Lunkenheimer patented two sight-feed lubricators, a loose-pulley lubricator, and made improvements on the straightway valve. At the same time, Edwin Matthews was determining the use of elevator valve controls and hydraulic valves in his Queen City workshop. The following year, James B. Bailey designed an elevator in West Liberty.

Improvements in cigar-making were made by Napoleon Du Brul of Cincinnati, who in 1897 secured patent rights upon a variety of tobacco-using machines. Du Brul invented a cigar-packer's press, a cigar mold, a cigar-bunching machine, a cigar or cigarette

wrapper-cutting machine, and an atomizer for flavoring and spraying tobacco. The following year, he patented a cigar-banding machine and a wrapper cutter.

Among the well-known Cleveland engineers was Alexander Winton who interested himself in developing and perfecting the "explosive" engine. In 1899, Winton took out eight patents including engine designs, speed regulators and piston lubricators. When the American Society of Mechanical Engineers met in Cleveland in June, 1883, eighty members registered to hear short, plain and practical papers on a steam starting gear for throwing marine engines off center, on greases and lubricating oils and on a new method of casting iron pipe.²²

The procession of Ohioans who interested themselves in mechanical tools and devices after the Civil War was a long one. Although, as in the case of farm machinery, residents of the Buckeye State invented few of the fundamental machines and processes, they did add many improvements. Their inventions blanketed the field of the machine. They tinkered with joints, made many changes in the sewing machine, designed heavy machinery and created extremely specialized tools.

No field was more tantalizing or offered greater opportunity for profit during the nineteenth century than did that of electricity. American inventors thought of a thousand ways to utilize in practical form their fundamental knowledge of negative and positive charges. In Ohio, almost countless electrical gadgets, motors, lights and switches were designed and patented, but no Ohio inventor achieved the fame that came to Thomas A. Edison, the wizard of Menlo Park, New Jersey. Edison, of course, was born at Milan, Ohio, in 1847, but seven years later moved with his family to Michigan. He did none of his epoch-making work in Ohio. There were, however, some brilliant electrical engineers at work in the State.

Cleveland was the home of Charles Brush who even as a boy experimented with toy dynamos in the hope of producing a current. Working with coke and lampblack rods and syrup baked in the

²² *Science* (Cambridge, Mass.), II (1883), 62.

kitchen stove, Brush succeeded in making an electric arc which gave light. The result, after years of research, was the Brush electric arc-lamp which lighted Ohio streets.²³ When Brush first demonstrated twelve arc-lamps in Monumental Park on April 29, 1879, assembled citizens protected their eyes with smoked glasses and vain women frowningly maintained that such illumination would never show their complexions to advantage.²⁴ Within a few years the Brush arc-light was as well-known as Edison's incandescent lamp.

In 1879, Brush was granted eight patents. All pertained to his arc-light and included a regulating device for electric lamps, a carbon for electric lamps and various electrical lighting devices. In 1880, he patented a dynamo-electric apparatus, a magneto-electric machine and an automatic cut-out apparatus for electric lights or motors. The following year Brush won recognition for a current governor for dynamo-electric machines and in 1882 he patented sixteen ideas pertaining to electrical engineering. Among these were an electrical circuit system and a storage battery element. Eleven patents were issued him the following year, mostly in connection with the development of secondary batteries and elements. His attention then turned to molding and electroplating. In 1886, he had submitted original drawings for electric switches, armatures and an automatic series cut-out. His interest was caught in 1888 by the need for safety devices, and he patented an attachment for electric motors which insured an operator's safety. Fuse blocks, connecting rods, safety switches and improvements upon the arc-light were all patented before Brush retired as one of Ohio's most distinguished inventors.

In 1879, James Hoover of Gratis patented an electric motor. The following year three Ohioans patented significant ideas. Arthur E. Briggs of Cleveland conceived of a magneto-electric machine; Alexander E. Brown also of Cleveland made an electric lamp; and Henry Sheridan of the same city patented an electric lamp. In 1882, Henry Sheridan of Cleveland made progress with a regulator for electric

²³ Kaempffert, *A Popular History of American Invention*, I, 563-4.

²⁴ James Wallen, *Cleveland's Golden Story* (Cleveland, 1920), 70.

store boxes and lights. In the southern portion of the State, Edgar Edwards of Cincinnati in 1883 received patents on five different electric arc-lamps, as well as on an armature and a telegraph key. Three years later, another Cincinnati man, Harry B. Cox, patented an electric bell cord, a coupling for an electric bell, a battery and a circuit closer. In Canton, Thomas C. Belding and Warren S. Belding worked with electrical devices and received patents in 1889. Among the early electric locks was one invented by William Grah of Toledo in 1890. An electrical call, lighting and alarm system was devised by Charles Hale of Cleveland in the same year. Another Cleveland electrician got patent rights to an electrical clock. An Akron man, Charles Case, was an early patentee of electrical fixtures for house wiring. John Kirby of Dayton demonstrated his ingenuity in 1897 when he won rights to a revolving electric headlight and an electric dash light and showed their usefulness.

With the exception of Brush, no Ohioan did more advanced work in electrical engineering and inventing than Sidney Howe Short. Born in Columbus in 1858, Short early displayed remarkable mechanical ingenuity. When he was fourteen years old he was an expert telegrapher and had equipped his home with a burglar alarm and a variety of other electrical devices. He was graduated from the Ohio State University in 1880 and then became a member of the faculty of the University of Denver. In 1889, he moved to Cleveland where he made a distinguished record as one of the Nation's most brilliant electrical engineers. He remained in the Forest City until 1898 when he became technical director of the English Electric Manufacturing Company. He died in London in 1902.²⁵ Short was primarily concerned with the application of electrical energy to railways. He patented innumerable devices, including a support for car motors, a device for suspending electric conductors at crossings, and for insulating joints. In 1891, he received over forty patents. His work included rheostats for electric motor cars, electric generators, speed regulators for electric motors, an electric railway car, a trolley for electric railways, a side-shoe trolley and a motor mounting for

²⁵ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, XVII, 128.

electric cars. A prodigious worker, Short took out sixteen patents in 1892 and continued to perfect and improve electrical railways and motors until his death.

It was not until the 1830's that typesetting by mechanical means was possible. In 1888, Henry Barth of Cincinnati invented a machine which was able to cast about two hundred type characters a minute.²⁶ The linotype, of course, was evolved by Mergenthaler and the machine was so named because it set a line of type at a time.²⁷ An Ohioan developed the idea of a machine which would set a single letter at a time. He was Tolbert Lanston, born in Troy in 1844, who, after the Civil War, became a clerk in the Pension Bureau in the national capital. Lanston's monotype was first patented in 1887, and a decade later a machine had been built and was operating.²⁸ Today, the linotype and monotype set most of the world's type.

Ohio printers and inventors contributed their share to the development of modern typography and mechanical printing. In 1880, Julius T. Edsom of Cincinnati designed two different type cases, and the following year a Garrettsville man, Allen E. Francis, patented an engraving machine. A locking-up device was patented by Benjamin Curtis, a Cincinnati printer, in 1882. Frank Belknap of Wooster patented a copying press in 1883. A Hamilton man, L. P. Clawson, made an improvement in an ink mill the following year. An ink fountain for presses was designed by Henry W. Thorp of Cleveland in 1866 and made possible the even application of printer's ink upon press rollers. In 1890, John Butterfield of Columbus designed and patented a two-revolution cylinder press and the following year William Christie of Cincinnati made an improvement in a book binder's press. A Toledo printer, John King, devised a sheet deliverer for printing press which made paper feeding faster and easier. In 1897, Frank Burnham of Cleveland made two significant inventions. He patented a machine for cutting printers' leads and metallic rules and a movable and adjustable bearer for platen print-

²⁶ Kaempffert, *A Popular History of American Invention*, I, 226.

²⁷ Byrn, *The Progress of Invention*, 165-9.

²⁸ Kaempffert, *A Popular History of American Invention*, I, 233-4.

ing presses. The first typewriter, a double-keyboard Caligraph, was said to have been first used in Akron in 1897 by the Akron *Press*. As early as 1875 the Werner Printing and Lithographing Company had installed the first equipment for lithography and the first electrotype foundry in the city.

On March 7, 1876, Alexander Graham Bell was granted one of the most remarkable single patents in the history of invention.²⁹ The telephone was to revolutionize methods of communication, alter business practices and modify social customs. On the same day that Bell filed his application for a patent, another inventor entered a similar application. He was Elisha Gray, born in Barnesville, Ohio, in 1835, and educated at Oberlin College. As a boy Gray had been a blacksmith's apprentice. Interested in mechanics and electricity, Gray invented a musical telegraph and claimed to have invented the telephone prior to Bell. Western Union, anxious to control the telephone business, entered into a long legal battle with Bell. The ultimate decision was a compromise. Gray and Western Union agreed to withdraw from the telephone field; Bell agreed to withdraw from the telegraph field. Each was to have a monopoly in his particular area of interest. It has been said that no claim to a great invention was more clearly proven than that of Bell's.³⁰ In 1885, however, suit was filed in the United States District Court in Cincinnati claiming that Bell was not the originator of the telephone and maintaining that as early as 1862 Philip Reis had used the same principle successfully.³¹ As early as 1877, a group of Cincinnati newspapermen gathered to hear a brass band play in Chicago over telephone wires running into the Western Union office.³²

Gray was an interesting and engaging person whom Fate frowned upon for only a few hours. During the six years following 1867 he patented an automatic, self-adjusting, telegraphic relay; a telegraph switch and annunciator for hotels; a private telegraph line printer, and a telegraphic repeater. In 1872, he moved to Chicago

²⁹ Byrn, *The Progress of Invention*, chap. VIII.

³⁰ Kaempfert, *A Popular History of American Invention*, I, 332.

³¹ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Sept. 12, 1885.

³² *Ibid.*, Mar. 28, 1877.



29. A TELEPHONE EXCHANGE DURING THE EIGHTIES

From Benj. Butterworth, *Growth of Industrial Art* (Washington, 1892), 112.

where he maintained his residence during the rest of his life. In 1888 and 1891 he patented one of his outstanding contributions to the history of American electricity. The telautograph was a device to transmit facsimile writing or drawing.³³

Ohioans, other than Gray, invented various telephone designs and patented improvements, but none, it seems, produced an instrument or part which was taken over by the Bell interests. In 1879, three years after Bell received his patent, Charles Dickson of Cincinnati patented a telephone and the following year took out another patent on another phone. Two other Queen City residents, Charles Jones and W. H. Jones, invented a telephone exchange system. In Hamilton, James W. See designed one of the earliest electrical switchboards and patented a signal box for telephone lines. See also patented a telephone call register and a toll apparatus.

³³ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, VII, 514.

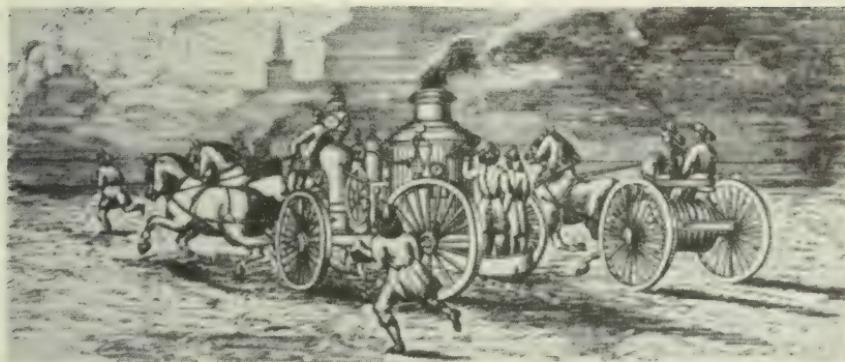
Martin Carney invented a telephone central office switchboard in Toledo in 1882, and Charles Egan surprised his friends in Zanesville with a mechanical telephone which functioned. In 1883, Josephus Chambers of Cincinnati made improvements in both telephone and telegraph cables, and two years later, another Cincinnati, John C. Eckert, produced a combined telephone receiver and circuit breaker. In 1887, Herbert Allison of Xenia invented a telephone transmitter.

The nineties saw a decrease in the number of telephone appliances invented by Ohioans. In 1891, Charles Dickson of Cincinnati who had been interested in telephone apparatus for years invented a receiver, and eight years later a Columbus inventor, Robert P. Green, patented a transmitter.

Closely connected with the invention of the telephone was the development of fire-alarm systems. Many of these combined telephonic and telegraphic principles, such as Gray's harmonic telegraph which sent as many as nine messages over the same wire at the same time, with specialized circuits designed to function at given times. Innumerable burglar and fire alarms were patented by Ohioans. In 1879, for example, Adelbirt Gray of Cardington invented a non-interfering fire-alarm telegraph box. A few years later, Arthur Erwin designed a telegraphic recording instrument adaptable for receiving Cleveland alarms. Frank Loomis was the Akron electrician who designed several instruments to receive and transmit alarms. In 1892, Loomis patented a non-interfering fire-alarm telegraph box and a fire-alarm telegraph indicator. In 1899, Henry Bush of Dayton claimed great success with an automatic chemical fire-extinguishing system.

Although many of the telephonic and telegraphic inventions of Ohioans were not taken over and manufactured by the great companies, such as Bell Telephone, Western Electric and Western Union, a few were. Still more were manufactured locally and installed in local and private exchanges and switchboards.

No machine ever influenced business practices more than did the cash register. Its inventor, James Ritty, patented a mechanical



30. TYPES OF FIRE APPARATUS

From Benj. Butterworth, *Growth of Industrial Art* (Washington, 1892), 77.

money drawer in 1879. Residents of Dayton laughed when they heard the jangle of the register. In 1884, John Patterson purchased the Ritty cash register company and set about to make cash registers imperative to every American business house and to put Dayton on the map as the home of the cash register.

Patterson was born in 1844 near Dayton, attended Miami University for a brief period, served in the Union Army and eventually was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1867. After his gradu-

tion, he tried his hand as a toll-keeper on an Ohio canal, entered the coal business and finally acquired the controlling interest in the National Manufacturing Company of Dayton which became the National Cash Register Company in December, 1884. At that time the concern employed a staff of thirteen persons. An erratic and temperamental employer, Patterson, nevertheless, had a keen sense of business principles and a mind which grasped details readily. It is probable that many of the inventions entered in his name were actually or in part the work of individuals other than himself.³⁴

No sooner had Ritty invented the cash register and Patterson set about making the machines on a large scale than other Ohio inventors turned their attention to business machines. Many of their devices were adopted by the makers of the National Cash Register. In 1884, the year that Patterson took over the Ritty invention, John Birch, also of Dayton, secured patents upon a cash register and indicator. A year later, David Lippy of Mansfield secured three patents on a cash carrier of the type so commonly in use in department stores more than a quarter of a century ago. The following year, another Mansfield inventor patented a cash carrier. Patterson, however, was interested only in cash registers, not in the many other devices which were brought to his attention.

In 1886, Patterson secured patents on a cash register and indicator and a cash register and recorder. The following year another invention was patented in Patterson's name. This time it was a fare register and indicator. Three years earlier, however, Holmes Marshall of Cleveland had invented a fare register. In 1888, Patterson received four patents for cash registers and fare indicators, and the following year the patents continued to mount. Patterson was controlling the cash register business, not only from the production angle, but also from the inventor's angle. In 1890, Frank Patterson patented a key arrestor for cash indicators, and John Patterson, strangely enough, patented a combined account book and holder. In addition to the Pattersons, Israel Boyer of Dayton made several improvements upon the cash machine.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XIV, 304.

By 1891, an electrical engineer by the name of Hugo Cook was making many changes and improvements upon the cash register. Cook, an extremely versatile Dayton researcher, patented cash registers, recorders and indicators. Thomas Carney also interested himself in cash machines and appliances. In 1892, he patented significant improvements in the cash register. Among them was a complete stroke mechanism. In addition, Carney patented indicators and recorders and a coin display which made visible coins within a machine. Cook continued his researches. He invented registers, indicators, recorders, an autographic register and even an advertising apparatus for cash registers. The contributions of Cook to the cash register industry were significant. A Cincinnati inventor, Edwin Murdock, made minor improvements upon the cash register, but is remembered more for his conductor's trip slip than for his cash register researches.

A few Ohio inventors interested themselves in other business machines. In 1886, for example, Frank A. Bone of Lebanon patented an adding machine, and in 1891, Horace Campbell of Akron invented a registering device for street car fares. A year later, Grail D. Boyer of Dayton patented an "instrument for facilitating the use of tabulated data." In 1896, a versatile Loveland inventor, Thomas Heath, invented a typewriter.

In 1869, attention was called to three inventions designed to improve and safeguard railway travel. The Tyler switch, used on the Lake Shore Railway, was said to prevent derailment even when a train was traveling at a speed of forty miles an hour; the Westinghouse atmospheric railroad brake, tried on the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railway, utilized steam pressure to operate the brake piston; and the Koontz, Potts and Lewis Railway Car Stove, used on several Ohio roads, consisted of a tank of water perched on top of a regular passenger coach stove. The tank upset when an accident occurred, spilled water over the live coals tossed from the stove and thus prevented the wrecked coach from burning.³⁵

When the Civil War closed, many of the fundamental railroad

³⁵ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1869, 13-5.

inventions had been patented and were in use. Pullman constructed his first completely equipped Pullman car in 1864. G. F. Swift had designed and put into use a refrigerator car in 1875. The steam brake had been devised in 1843, and the Westinghouse air brake was patented in 1869. A court decision in 1876 indicated that Westinghouse was not the first to conceive the idea of operating railway brakes by air pressure and that other inventors, indeed, had designed the larger part of devices used on air brakes.³⁶ The block system of signals was devised and installed in 1863, and the interlocking system in 1874. The electric block system was introduced in 1879.³⁷ None of these significant railway inventions, however, was the work of Ohioans.

Buckeyes, though, who knew the lure of rails and were competent railroad men patented some significant mechanical devices for easier and safer travel. In 1879, Louis Prince of Nashville invented a railway car and William C. Quigley of Galion a railway frog for use in a crossing. The next year, Hosea Stock and others of Toledo designed an efficient turntable for roundhouses. In Zanesville, Samuel C. Abbott and C. M. Gattrell received a patent in 1881 for a car coupling. A draw-bar was engineered by Allen L. Anderson of Cincinnati and by Francis G. Arter and J. C. Blocher of Lima. Josiah Hunt of Urbana entered one of the earliest designs for a stock car. A railroad signalling apparatus was contributed by William H. Bachtel of Canton, in 1882, and Jacob Bieder of Ashtabula invented a remarkably accurate railway-crossing alarm and signal. Inventions such as these, even if they did not go into production, exerted a tremendous influence upon railroading in general and served to stimulate other men to solve railway problems.

The years 1883 and 1884 saw many patents issued to Ohioans for railway devices. Flamen Ball of Cincinnati designed an electric headlight for a locomotive; Andrew Beckert, Sandusky, a dumping car; John M. Case, Columbus, a portable railway dining table; and George Merrill, Toledo, a device for unloading platform cars. Other

³⁶ Cleveland *Leader*, Feb. 7, 1876.

³⁷ Kaempfert, *A Popular History of American Invention*, I, 47, 53, 55-6, 60, 61.

innovations or improvements included a grain door for freight cars, refrigerator cars, rail joints, railway torpedos and a guard for sleeping car berths. Eleanor A. McMann of Cleveland, one of the few women inventors of Ohio, designed the latter.

In 1886, Morgan D. Brown, Forest, patented an automatic railway switch and the following year, so great was the controversy over the relative merits of railway ties, that William Hall, Piqua, took out a patent on a tie which was said to function as only a railroader could wish. Robert Carr, Hamilton, who possessed a fertile imagination and a genuine knowledge of mechanics, patented a train telephone in 1890. A railway brake shoe was conceived by a Lima inventor, Patrick Reilly, in 1891. The following year, Alexander Black, Toledo, patented a passenger-car cooler and ventilator which went into service. Probably Nathaniel Goldsmith, Cincinnati mechanical and electrical engineer, contributed as much as any Ohioan to railroad progress. In 1895, for example, Goldsmith took out patents on an electric double semaphore block signal, on an electric block signal and on a switch stand. His work is remembered even today as pioneering efforts in the use and management of the electric block.

By 1890 many Ohio physicians were using the microscope and some had really astonishing knowledge of bacteriology, but, in general, the country doctor was following techniques tried and found true by his grandfather. Although the binaural stethoscope was invented in 1854, scores of physicians had not availed themselves of it in 1870, and it was a modern practitioner, indeed, who in Ohio in 1880 possessed in his kit either an ophthalmometer or a laryngoscope. Only a handful of exceedingly skilled diagnosticians knew the use of the endoscope which permitted them to look into the urethra or of the cystoscope which revealed the bladder. Instruments to determine blood pressure and arterial tension did not become popular in the medical profession in Ohio until after the turn of the century. Even the hypodermic syringe containing an anodyne was used rarely during the first three decades after the Civil War. Vaccines and serum therapy were relatively unknown. Anes-

thesia, general and local, and asepsis were only coming into their own by 1890.

Materia medica progressed equally slowly in general practice. Although ergot had been discovered in 1807 and named *pulvis parturiens* many women in Ohio in 1870 were brought to bed without its use. Physicians relied upon the standard pharmacopoeia of their forefathers—quinine, lobelia and laudanum. The sulphates of morphia, strychnia, atropia, iodide of potash, and tincture of iron, digitalis, bichloride of mercury and chlorate of potash gradually came into use. Not until 1884, however, was antipyrine available and not until 1886 did sulfonal come into use. Improvement also was made in the form of the administration of drugs. Sugar-coated pills, gelatine capsules and cod liver oil emulsions, to mention a few, made remedies easier to take.

The clinical thermometer, introduced in New York in 1866, was first used in Akron by Drs. A. E. Foltz and W. C. Jacobs during the early seventies. In 1885, Dr. Foltz devised the "Thermograph," now known in modern hospitals as the clinical chart, which he sold for fifty cents to an energetic manufacturer who is said to have made a profit of \$50,000 on his investment.³⁸

Dr. Byron S. Chase performed the first tracheotomy for laryngeal diphtheria in Akron in 1874, and Dr. H. H. Jacobs became known during the nineties for his skill in intubation for the same disease. Dr. Jacobs also distinguished himself as a surgeon when he did a complete jaw excision and performed the first laparotomy in Akron.³⁹ Dr. Mendall Jewett was said to have made the first diagnosis of appendicitis in the city. Although Roentgen's great discovery was made in 1895, the use of the X-ray in Akron was delayed until 1907 when Dr. E. W. Barton tried it. The fluoroscope was not made practical for the diagnostician until 1897 and was not in wide use in Ohio until after 1900.⁴⁰

Although the Caesarian section was a well-known technique in

³⁸ Historical Committee, *Centennial History of Akron* (Akron, 1925), 270.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁴⁰ Byrn, *The Progress of Invention*, 326.

the annals of medical history, few physicians cared to risk their patient's life and their own reputations with this direct obstetrical approach. Dr. Eugene Pilate, however, was known in Dayton before 1890 as a physician who had twice delivered the same patient by this means.⁴¹ The first lithotomy performed in the Toledo area was done by Dr. William W. Jones who served for many years as a member of the Toledo Board of Health. In 1876, Dr. Calvin H. Reed, Toledo obstetrician, reported one of the few cases of connate gangrene known at that time and two years later published the result of his researches on the use of quinine in the treatment of scarlet fever.⁴²

Probably the most distinguished inventor of dental techniques and appliances in Ohio was Dr. L. E. Custer, born at Perrysville in 1862 and a graduate of Otterbein College in 1884, who practiced in Dayton until after the turn of the century. Dr. Custer invented the first electric gold annealer used in dentistry in 1890. Three years later Custer made it possible for dentists to melt and work over their platinum scrap by inventing an arc-light method of melting platinum. In 1884, he invented an electric oven for the fusing of dental porcelain which revolutionized prosthetic dentistry and made possible for the first time exact and well-fitting porcelain fillings. In recognition of this contribution to modern dentistry, the Ohio State Dental Society presented Dr. Custer with a gold medal. Among his other contributions to science were a novel method of casting a gold filling out of the mouth and a wireless device for controlling the movements of torpedo boats and dirigible balloons.⁴³ So common had the use of dental appliances in Ohio become that in 1895 the B. F. Goodrich Company at Akron was manufacturing dental-plate rubber, dental-dam, dental bulbs, plaster bowls, anesthesia gas-bags and a variety of dental rubber tubing.⁴⁴

⁴¹ A. W. Drury, *History of the City of Dayton and Montgomery County* (Chicago, 1909), I, 265.

⁴² Clark Waggoner, ed., *History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County* (New York, 1888), 549, 552.

⁴³ Drury, *History of the City of Dayton*, I, 202-3.

⁴⁴ Historical Committee, *Centennial History of Akron*, 350.

Many Ohio physicians patented medical and surgical aids. During the seventies, Amassa Cobb, Beloit, invented a pair of dental forceps. In 1880, Alexander W. Brinkerhoff, Upper Sandusky, patented a rectal speculum, and Orphana Taylor, Caledonia, patented a medical compound guaranteed to ease the dread ague which from early days had caused the Buckeye resident to shake with chills and burn with fever.

Sylvester W. Beall, Cincinnati, devised a combined atomizer and syringe in 1881, and another Cincinnati inventor, Herbert Clayton, made a unique medical and nursery spoon. In Toledo, Thomas Daniels, weary of rolling pills by hand, invented a machine to do that work. The following year, Nathan B. Acheson, Youngstown, patented a dental drill, and George Jones, Cincinnati, developed a holder for surgical needles. During 1883, Alexander W. Brinkerhoff, who had invented a speculum a few years earlier, patented an ointment injector and an operating table. John Doyle, Hillsboro, secured rights to a dental lip and tongue holder. Adon Krill, Burton, designed an improved surgeon's operating chair. In Van Wert, a dental plate was patented by John Shults, and in Lancaster, Edward Slocum made a druggist's percolator.

During 1884 and 1885 a variety of aids and improvements were entered at the patent office. Joseph Furrer, Toledo, patented an artificial leg; Edward L. O'Connor, Cincinnati, an artificial foot and shoe; John H. Siddall, Canton, a dental drill handpiece; and Harriet A. Trover, Toledo, an abdominal supporter. In Lynchburg, Amaziah Garner invented a dental impression cup and a lip-holder. In 1886, a Springfield individual patented a "remedy" for kidney diseases. Excessive claims and general, vague instructions were a part of the patent-medicine racket before 1900. Further dental progress was made in 1890 when a man in Pomeroy, Kensel Whaley, patented a dental polishing pencil. In 1893, Jeremiah Keller, Canton, designed an electric motor for dental work. A Lisbon druggist in 1897 made application for patents upon a druggists' label case and, what is more interesting, upon an "artificial straw for imbibing beverages."

Undertakers entered a great number of patent applications immediately after the Civil War. The majority were designs for burial cases and coffins. In 1879, for example, Michael Beckler, Cheviot, designed a grave guard and tombstone, and George Boyd, Springfield, a burial case. A macabre patent was taken out by John Krichbaum, Youngstown, in 1882. It was described as a device for indicating life in buried persons. Other Ohio morticians patented cooling boards, casket handles, head rests and designs for hearses.

The history of inventions is intimately associated with the development of construction engineering. The practical arts include bridge-building, erection of public and private buildings, proper ventilation of factories, dwellings and business houses, and the designing and installation of safety devices upon machinery.

No question was more bitterly discussed by structural engineers during the seventies and eighties than the relative merits of wooden and iron bridges. The Howe Truss bridge generally was in use throughout Ohio. Most railroads preferred this type of bridge, but inspectors frequently found them too lightly constructed for the demands put upon them.⁴⁵ Iron bridges, on the other hand, could prove unsatisfactory and dangerous. Some engineers found the major defect to be in construction rather than in the type of material used. Sufficient caution was not taken in figuring strain and determining tension.⁴⁶ After the great Ashtabula train wreck Ohio newspapers charged that many railroad bridges were of inferior construction and insisted that quality of bridge materials be improved.⁴⁷ Within a few years six iron bridges within a radius of one hundred and fifty miles of Columbus collapsed. During the same time not a timber bridge collapsed in the entire State.⁴⁸ By 1888, more than two thousand iron bridges were in use throughout Ohio and about eight hundred and fifty wooden bridges.⁴⁹ The first cantilever bridge of any magnitude was constructed in the year 1875 to

⁴⁵ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1873, 497-8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1876, 34.

⁴⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 5, 1877; *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 7, 1877.

⁴⁸ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1878, 19-20.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1888, 44.

carry the rails of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad across the Kentucky River.⁵⁰

The Howe Truss, approved by engineers, consisted generally of an upper and lower chord connected by vertical tie rods running through with nuts at both ends. The span was divided into panels containing braces and counter braces. The prevailing type of iron bridge was the Pratt Truss for long spans. For short spans the plate girder was used. During the eighties pins and eyes were replacing the bolts, notches and locks of earlier days.⁵¹ As time went on elaborate formulae were worked out to determine the general theory of beams and to figure stress on beams, struts, columns and semi-columns. S. W. Robinson, professor of mechanical engineering at Ohio State University, contributed a long monograph which did much to aid engineers construct substantial bridges.⁵² Gradually, as knowledge of steel structures increased, more and more such bridges were built. Eventually, the wooden bridge was to come into disfavor; stone and steel structures replaced them,⁵³ but this was not to occur until long past the turn of the century. Wooden bridges still stand to testify to their worth and strength when well made and under proper conditions.

One of the State's outstanding structural engineers was Alexander E. Brown who was born in Cleveland in 1852, educated in local schools and was graduated from Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute in Brooklyn, New York, in 1872. After serving with the United States Geological Survey, Brown became chief engineer for the Massillon Bridge Company and in 1878 moved to Cleveland where he associated himself with the Brush Electric Company. While there he developed the Brown hoisting and conveying machine for handling coal and iron ore at lake ports. With his invention it became possible to unload a twelve-thousand-ton ore vessel in as

⁵⁰ *Cincinnati Times-Star*, Apr. 25, 1940.

⁵¹ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1881, 359-63.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Appendix.

⁵³ *Ohio Rail. Rep.*, 1901, 430-33.

many hours as it formerly took days to unload a five-hundred-ton boat.⁵⁴

Construction problems faced practical-minded engineers. Ohio public buildings—schools, factories, opera houses, public halls—took frequently ignored the state building code.

In 1890, the Inspector of Workshops and Factories who had visited many public buildings painted a gloomy picture. "We have come in contact," he said, "with some of the most absurd and criminal carelessly constructed buildings—sometimes an opera house with weak floors, entirely inadequate to sustain the burden they must carry; again, school buildings with defective walls, or the roof ready to collapse without a moment's warning; and these buildings have, in all probability, been constructed under architectural supervision, and given to the public as a safe place for the assemblage of people."⁵⁵

He told of seeing a schoolhouse in Sunbury whose roof sagged six inches and he described an opera house with a dangerous floor and a weak roof. He warned of inadequate inspection of public halls and urged that city mayors, engineers and fire chiefs approve structures under construction.

The invention of the elevator, of course, not only aided movement of goods and supplies, but also, under certain circumstances, made possible accidents. It was pointed out that to suppose an elevator is ever absolutely safe is a delusion. "When the general public fully realize that fact, we can then hope for some reform in their use."⁵⁶ Ohioans were warned that passengers took risks when traveling in elevators. Architects received general instructions for both steam and hydraulic elevators. Automatic floor locks for valve or shift ropes were recommended and lifting ropes themselves were required to be of specified strength. Engineers urged that Ohio elevators travel no faster than three hundred feet a minute. Hand elevators were disapproved. Inventors, engineers and factory in-

⁵⁴ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, III, 103-4.

⁵⁵ *Ohio Exec. Doc.*, 1890, II, 641-2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 659.

spectors recommended to concern after concern improvements in their elevator service. Despite this caution, Ohioans continued to fall down unguarded elevator openings, to be killed by falling elevators, or to be crushed between elevator beam and ceiling.

As machinery was invented which performed more involved and complicated functions, accidents in Ohio shops and factories increased. Inventors and engineers were urged to patent safety devices and business houses were asked to install protective guards. Yet many engineers disregarded the safety of workmen and designed dangerous machinery. Defective construction and inferior workmanship on the part of designing engineers were responsible for scores of accidents in Ohio plants. The most dangerous type of machinery in operation in Ohio until after the turn of the century was that designed for woodworking purposes. Gear wheels were not covered, and guards were lacking for shapers, saws, jointers, circular jointers and planers. Accident reports again and again demonstrated the danger of working in carpenter shops. On March 8, 1890, for example, Charles James, an employee of the Standard Oil Company in Cleveland, was dressing a board at a jointer machine. His hand slipped, struck the unguarded cutter, and four fingers and a part of a thumb were cut off. James was out of work for about a month, lost time and wages amounting to sixty dollars, and five dependents were deprived of his support. A physician's bill of fifty dollars was paid by the company. A guard would have saved James' fingers, income and job and would have prevented a bill paid by the company. Both workmen and company would have prospered had adequate machine guards been installed in the shop.⁵⁷ The example was repeated many times in Ohio's industrial history.

Boiler explosions probably ranked next to woodworking machines in causing accidents. Practically every business house using steam maintained a boiler and an engineer. Thousands of boilers were run by men untrained and unskilled. Low water and high pressure caused frightful loss of life. In 1890, an engineer warned the people of Ohio against the improper use of one of man's most sig-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 899.

nificant inventions. "If our present industrial advancement continues, necessitating the introduction of many more steam boilers—which are now being placed in the basements of our business houses—that unless some action is taken to curtail the employment of ignorant and incompetent men in the capacity of steam engineers, we will experience many and more appalling accidents."⁵⁸

About 1800, James MacAdam, a Scottish inventor, found a method to improve roadbeds by using crushed stone. The MacAdam road won rapid favor in the United States. During the eighteen-thirties, Ohio counties built roads of this type. In addition, many plank roads were constructed. By 1857, about twenty-four hundred miles of plank and turnpike roads were laid throughout Ohio. At the same time, the State had about sixty-six thousand miles of state, county and township roads.⁵⁹

By 1873, Ohio's interest in MacAdam roads had declined and enthusiasm for turnpikes and plank roads was increasing. Ohio now had about six thousand miles of turnpikes and plank roads. Seven years later the total had mounted to 6,801 miles, including about a hundred and twenty miles of national road. The remainder of Ohio highways were dirt and gravelled pike. They continued to be so until 1892 when the first concrete road was laid near Bellefontaine. The invention of the hard road, of course, and the creation of the low-priced, standardized automobile were to revolutionize American life.

Some of the outstanding Ohio individuals who contributed to the history of invention in the State have been mentioned. The Wrights, of course, led all in the development of aviation. Robbins and Hussey pioneered in agricultural implements. Brush and Short were outstanding electrical engineers. Lanston fathered the mono-type, one of the most sensational developments in the story of modern printing. Gray's harmonic telegraph and his interest in the telephone made him a national figure. James Ritty and John Patterson distinguished themselves in the field of the cash register.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 357-8.

⁵⁹ *Ohio Laws, Statutes* (Curwen), 1857, 38-9.

Other Ohioans contributed to the development of the railroad, heavy machinery, surgery and dentistry.

Versatile men patented many outstanding and unique devices in other fields. James Johnston, Columbiana, was an individual whose mind constantly saw opportunities for change or improvement. One year, he made application for forty-three patents. They included a fruit drier, door bell, iron fence post, post-hole digger, washing machine, garden vase, writing desk, sewing stand and ironing table. Isidor Kitsee might have been called the "Fire Alarm Man" of Cincinnati. In 1882, Kitsee received twenty-four patents on automatic fire alarms, fire extinguishers and fire damp indicators. William Bowen was known to Norwalk residents as an inventor of mechanical telephones, acoustic insulators and polarized electric bells. William Doane was the Cincinnati machine engineer who designed a carriage support for tenoning machines, spoke tenoning and throating machines, and a machine for planing wheel-fellies.

In Columbiana, James Johnston specialized in making new formulae for soap. The Ohio National Military Home prided itself upon the minor inventions of Michael Mahar who patented a sash fastener, pocketbook, fare box and pocketbook holder. The outstanding Ohio inventor of milling machinery during the eighties was John M. Case of Columbus. He perfected a roller for crushing grain, feed box for roller mills, cashing for roller mills, grinding mill, apparatus for manufacturing flour and a gradual reduction machine for milling. The inventions of Austin C. Evans, Springfield, made the cable car and cable railway feasible. Another Springfield man led Ohio inventors in forge and iron equipment. James F. Winchell patented a detachable lever for forges, two forges and a forge hood.

The nineties saw improvement in metal working. Thomas Bray, Warren, was a distinguished inventor in this field. He devised a machine for drawing cold metal rods for shafts, a machine for cold rolling metallic pipe, a process and an apparatus for making couplings of wrought iron, and a die for forging pipe coupling blanks.

"Elastic" bicycle tires were patented by Arthur Garford, Elyria, and Peter Gendron, Toledo, in 1892. The first cord bicycle tire was manufactured in Akron in 1892. The first automobile pneumatic tire was made by B. F. Goodrich in 1896, and the first automobile clincher tires were manufactured in Akron in 1899.

The leader in excavating machinery was George King of Marion. In 1895, King patented an excavating machine, a brace for dredging machines and a latch mechanism for the dippers or shovels of excavating machines. Charles Harris, Niles, probably was the outstanding inventor of printing machinery. In 1897, Harris secured rights to two presses, a paper-feeding machine, a feed table and feeder for printing presses, and several other variations upon the established method of press feeding.

Among Ohio's distinguished chemists was Charles M. Hall who made aluminum a common metal and brought it into general use. Hall was born on December 6, 1863, at Thompson, Ohio, but later moved to Oberlin where he was a member of the Class of 1885 of Oberlin College. As an undergraduate, Hall was stimulated by F. F. Jewett, professor of chemistry, who suggested that the young man work in the field of aluminum. At the age of twenty-two, Hall, using primitive equipment, discovered the only commercially successful process of making aluminum. His original idea was that aluminum oxide, dissolved in melted cryolite, could be electrolyzed. By 1888, Hall was producing about fifty pounds of aluminum daily. Price of the metal immediately dropped and it came into general favor for a variety of uses. In 1905, Hall was elected a trustee of Oberlin College, and when he died in 1914 he bequeathed that institution about fifteen million dollars, estimated as a third of his estate.

Fishermen the world over are indebted to Ernest Pflueger. In Akron, Pflueger conceived of luring fish by other than natural bait. A sportsman himself, he began to devise artificial plugs and spoons. In 1883, he patented an artificial fish bait. The previous year he had invented a luminous attachment for harness. He also invented paperweights, rosettes for harness and sweat-pad fastenings; but

more and more he turned his attention to fishing equipment. His inventions included a fishing float and connection in 1886; a trolling spoon in 1890; another spoon in 1893; a fishing reel and an artificial fish bait in 1896; and a bait swivel and a fish decoy in 1899. His inventions paved the way for a new type of sport and were pioneering attempts in an unusual field.

Inventive pioneers in the automobile industry were Alexander Winton and James W. Packard. The former was born in Scotland in 1860, but emigrated to the United States and came to Cleveland in 1884 to begin a bicycle business. While engaged in the manufacture of bicycles Winton patented a ball-bearing device that made balls run on flat surfaces, an invisible crank-shaft fastening and an invisible handle-bar clamp. In 1895, he built his first gasoline motor bicycle. A year later, he completed construction of his first gasoline motorcar. It was a curious affair with a two-cylinder vertical engine with a friction clutch, electric ignition, carburetor, regulator to control engine speed, engine starter and pneumatic tires. The Winton Motor Car Company of Cleveland was organized in 1897, and that year the inventor made a test run from Cleveland to New York by a long route in his car. The eight-hundred mile trip was accomplished in seventy-eight hours and forty-three minutes of actual running time.⁶⁰

Packard was born in Warren in 1863, was graduated from Lehigh University in 1884, and immediately went to work in New York City where he secured patents on a new form of incandescent electric lamp, a lamp socket and four patents on improvements in vacuum pumps for exhausting the air from incandescent lamp bulbs. His interest was directed to the new "gasoline carriage" coming into vogue, and in 1898 he purchased one of the first Winton automobiles. The following year he formed the Ohio Automobile Company and began the manufacture of cars. In 1903, he organized the Packard Motor Car Company, establishing a plant in Detroit, although he continued to live in Warren until his death in 1928.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Byrn, *The Progress of Invention*, chap. XXI; *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, XX, 417-8.
⁶¹ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, XIV, 128-9.



31. THE OLD AND NEW IN TRAVEL

Harper's Weekly, Apr. 26, 1902.

The coming of the automobile in Ohio was also of particular interest to Akron residents who remembered Achille Philion who was said to have begun work on a steam carriage in 1887. Philion's machine wabbled through the streets at perhaps three miles an hour. An upright brass boiler furnished power. One man steered the contraption and another tended the boiler. In 1898, Charley Motz, an Akron engineer and inventor, built a gasoline car. What was said to be the first motor patrol wagon in the world was designed by Frank Loomis, engineer for the Akron Fire Department, and was in service in 1900.⁶²

Closely allied to the automobile industry was the manufacture of tires. The Goodrich interests of Akron pioneered in this field. The first product manufactured by the Goodrich rubber interests which had been founded in December, 1870, was the long-famous "White Anchor" fire hose which had been suggested when Dr. Benjamin F. Goodrich saw a friend's home burn to the ground because of the bursting of inferior hose. The first tires made in Akron were solid rubber bands for the wheels of the old-fashioned, but popular, high bicycles of the eighties. These were followed as demand grew by solid rubber tires for carriages and then by the pneumatic tire for automobiles. Not until 1896, however, did Goodrich produce the first pneumatic tires for automobiles. In 1899, another Akronite, A. H. Marks, invented an alkali process for the reclamation of rubber. Harvey S. Firestone did not begin the manufacture of tires until about 1900, some two years after the Goodyear Company, under the direction of F. A. Seiberling, actually went into operation.⁶³ As early as 1870, however, a "perpetual" injunction in common pleas court was granted Henry B. Goodyear enjoining two individuals from selling rubber goods which infringed patents held by Goodyear.⁶⁴

Although Ohio inventors were to revolutionize flying, Wilbur and Orville Wright, Dayton mechanics, did not make their stirring

⁶² Historical Committee, *Centennial History of Akron*, 241-2.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 315-23.

⁶⁴ *Cleveland Leader*, May 7, 1870.

flights until December 17, 1903. Then a man-carrying, heavier-than-air machine remained in the air for almost a minute and moved a distance of 852 feet. Samuel P. Langley, of course, had been conducting experiments in flying and building workable airplanes during the nineties.⁶⁵

Wilbur Wright was born in Henry County, Indiana, on April 16, 1867, and Orville was born in Dayton on August 19, 1871. Both boys attended the Dayton High School and established a small printing business. They sold bicycles for a time and began an interest in flying machines in the autumn of 1878 when their father gave them a toy called a helicopter which rose in the air and was propelled by rubber bands. Innumerable experiments resulted in the great flight of 1903 at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, although they had conducted other previous experiments at Kitty Hawk.⁶⁶

For years the Wrights had experimented with gliders and other types of craft. Finally, they hit upon the principle of side-to-side balance. Their 1903 flight demonstrated their wisdom and laid the foundations for further developments in the airplane industry both before and after the War of 1914. Dayton was to become known as one of the greatest air fields in the United States, and Wright and Patterson fields were to testify to the foresight of two of Ohio's greatest inventors.⁶⁷

Ohio has reason to be proud of its inventors and engineers and of their contributions to industry and the practical arts. The State led in many fields of activities during the nineteenth century. The first oat-crushing machine was patented by an Akron man in 1875, and the first rubber company west of the Allegheny Mountains was organized there in 1870. In Barberton, the first matches in books were manufactured in 1896. A presidential nominee, William McKinley, used the telephone for campaign purposes in Canton in 1896. Procter and Gamble, Cincinnati, made the first soap to float in 1879. In Cleveland, the first paints prepared from a non-deviating

⁶⁵ Charles M. Manly, ed., *Langley on Mechanical Flight* (Washington, D. C., 1911), *passim*.

⁶⁶ Drury, *History of the City of Dayton*, I, 199-200.

⁶⁷ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, XX, 568-70.

quality formula were manufactured in 1880 and at Kings Mills, the first shotgun shells to be loaded by machinery were turned out in 1895. In 1880, the Case School of Applied Science was founded in Cleveland, and four years later America's first electric street railway ran along Cleveland streets.

No better monument to the ingenuity of American inventors was to be found than the amazing displays of tools, machines, electrical appliances, guns and surgical instruments at the great Centennial Exposition of 1876. So elaborate was the display of the United States Patent Office that more than five thousand models, arranged and classified according to subject, were made available to public gaze. The Ohio Building, constructed of stone and of wood, housed many of the State's products, manufactures and inventions. When Hayes spoke in Philadelphia on October 26, which was "Ohio Day," more than 135,000 admissions were counted. Governor Hayes, of course, had long been interested in the centennial and had served as one of the commissioners.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ J. S. Ingram, *The Centennial Exposition* (Philadelphia, 1876), 637-8.

Literature and the Arts

IF OHIO produced more politicians than authors, it was not because the State lacked literary or artistic talent. Creative minds frequently left the land of the Buckeyes to bask in an eastern artistic milieu. In Boston and New York gathered men of genius from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa who wore velvet jackets, organized clubs and ate together. William Dean Howells, for example, wrote with much glee of a dinner at Delmonico's in New York in 1872 where John Hay, Bret Harte, Joseph Harper of Harper and Brothers, Charles Dudley Warner, Jr., W. De Forest and the sculptor, Quincy Ward, were all gathered about the same table.¹ Then, too, New York was the center of the publishing business. Authors were anxious to be near their literary agents and even poets had to sell their wares in order to eat. Moreover, there was a certain fraternal spirit existing in the East possible only among persons of similar taste and ability.

Ohio understood successful businessmen, practical farmers and scheming politicians better than it did the painter and the poet. An "Ohio School" could not develop further until men of talent recognized that there was something in the Ohio scene worth capturing by pen or palette. Unfortunately, literary regionalism did not come to maturity until after the turn of the century.

More than two hundred persons born in Ohio were publishing works of fiction, biography, poetry, criticism, history, science, or theology during the thirty years from 1870 until 1900. More than a hundred more, not born in Ohio, but having some connection with the State, were at work. Many in each group, of course, were relatively minor, but a few distinguished individuals stood out. The

¹ Mildred Howells, ed., *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (New York, 1928), I, 168.

Census of 1890 reported 326 authors, literary and scientific persons in the State. Many of them obviously did not earn their living by the pen. These were the occasional authors. Those who followed literature as a profession within the State were few.² The dabblers in verse were many.

Local newspapers were filled with homely verse and State journals devoted space to unsolicited poems. During the eighties and nineties the names of T. C. Harbaugh, H. Rodwell Robinson, Kate Sanborn and Nellie McKenna, to mention but a few, were found in the *Ohio Farmer*. Their poetry prompted an editor to write that despite the many memoirs being published a new vogue was being ushered in.³ The ephemeral verse laboriously written out and corrected upon the kitchen table of a farmhouse or composed with infinite care on a golden-oak corner secretary in a middle-class home cannot be lightly brushed aside. Despite metrical defects, it was the expression of the common man. The very composition of it was a release from the daily humdrums of life and the monotony of hours over a butter churn. Sometimes this amateurish verse reflected local and national trends and gave insight into the view of the people.

Songs depicting the activities of the Grangers and predicting the triumphs of agricultural organization were numerous during the seventies.⁴ Other poets attempted to express their chores and work in verse. Some bashfully refused to sign their contributions. "The Churning Song" was one of these anonymous verses.⁵

"Apron on and dash in hand,
O'er the old churn here I stand:—
Cachug!
How the thick cream spurts and flies
Now on shoes, and now in eyes!
Cachug! Cachug!"

² Lewis A. Leonard, ed., *Greater Cincinnati and Its People* (New York, 1927), II, 518.

³ *Ohio Farmer*, May 2, 1885.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 17, May 2, 1874.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1874.

"Ah, how soon I tired get!
 But the butter lingers yet:
 Cachug!
 Aching back and weary arm
 Quite rob churning of its charm!
 Cachug! Cachug!"

It was only natural that the "liquor question" which so long agitated Ohio politics should find expression in verse. "Abstinence" by "Clarabel" exemplified the dry-as-bone literary school.⁶ Other composers utilized the theme of "lips that touch liquor shall never touch mine."⁷

"Maidens, loving, gentle, tender
 Rally for the strife;
 I swear you'll not the heart surrender,
 Never be called wife.
 By the liquor dealing masses,
 Nor the gentel waif,
 Who from dainty little glasses,
 Drink, and deem it safe."

Some poems were of great length. "Pat and the Young Bull" offered opportunity to satirize the Irish emigrant as well as to create a humorous situation. T. C. Harbaugh's "Opening Ode" was as artificial as the title suggested.⁸ Effusions such as these were no more distressful, however, than many historical odes written to commemorate a stirring event in Ohio's past or to be read with applause at some centennial celebration. Centennial verses were studded with expressions as "rarified air," "beautiful, peerless Ohio," "skies of azure overspread," and "Fair Buckeyeland."⁹ They were as unrealistic as the romanticized floats depicting classical and pioneer

⁶ *Ibid.*, Apr. 19, 1890.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1890.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1897.

⁹ Lucien Seymour, "Prolific Ohio"; Thomas M. Earl, "A Buckeye Home Coming"; and Osman C. Hooper, "The Buckeye Pioneers," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XVI (1907), 502-4.

scenes that paraded through Cincinnati streets in the Exposition Pageant of 1882.¹⁰ Their spirit was excellent, but their execution left much to be desired. Only in political satirical verse, it seems, did realism conquer romanticism. Prominent politicians, Hanna, McKinley, Campbell and Foraker, felt the sting of doggerel verse composed by editors and amateurs. A well-known castigation of Foraker began:¹¹

"A Gov'nor more humorous never
Did in Ohio exist;
Before the election
I escaped the detection
Of being a philanthropist."

William Dean Howells probably was the most versatile of Ohio's literary figures. He was skilled in the fields of poetry, biography, fiction and criticism. Even though he spent most of a busy life outside of the State, he is claimed as one of Ohio's distinguished literary sons. Howells was born in the little village of Martin's Ferry on March 1, 1837. He learned his letters in a printing office in Hamilton where his family moved when William was three years old. *Boy's Town*, a description of Hamilton during Howell's youth, is a fascinating story of Ohio during the nineteenth century. During succeeding years, the Howells moved to Dayton, Xenia, Columbus, Ashtabula, Jefferson and again to Columbus. At one time the elder Howells reported the actions of the legislature for the *Ohio State Journal*. The younger Howells, in 1856, contributed to both the *Cincinnati Gazette* and the *Cleveland Herald*. In addition, he was writing verses and developing his literary appreciation. When the *Atlantic Monthly* published his poem "Andenken" (later entitled "Pleasure Pain") in January, 1860, Howells felt that he definitely had arrived in the world of letters. His *Years of My Youth* reveals a talented young man bewildered by his own genius and yet confi-

¹⁰ *The Official Journal of the Exposition Pageant* (Cincinnati, 1882), *passim*.

¹¹ Joseph B. Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life* (Cincinnati, 1916), I, 64, 122, 123, 454; II, 114.

dent that success, rather than disappointment, awaited him. He said that he lived "in a continual strife with time and fate, and [was] always being beaten."¹²

After a short experience as United States Consul in Venice, Howells returned to the United States to devote himself to writing. He became assistant editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1866 and editor in 1872. After 1886, he edited a department called "The Editor's Study" in *Harper's Magazine*. In 1891, he became editor of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* which promised him freedom from the anxiety of placing his stories and "chaffering" about prices and of writing in quantity.¹³ Four years later he published his *Life of Abraham Lincoln* and in 1896 appeared his *Life of Rutherford B. Hayes*, distinguished Ohio statesman. His outstanding novels, however, had been written during the eighties—*A Modern Instance* in 1882 and *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (known to thousands of college students) in 1885. *Stories of Ohio*, a collection of Buckeye tales, was completed early in 1897 and was published by the American Book Company. Although the writing of these native sketches "lingered" on the author's hands, they were enthusiastically received in his home state.¹⁴

Howells' literary style was subject both to praise and criticism. Only recently he has been characterized as "sedate" and "reserved," as an interpreter of the New America, and as a "lousy cat of our letters."¹⁵ The truth probably is that he was as typically nineteenth-century as any of his literary contemporaries. He continued writing until his death in 1920. A year previously he had written to his friend, Booth Tarkington, mentioning their mid-western background.¹⁶

Many Ohioans cherished the slender volumes of poetry written by the Piatts who published about thirty books during the period

¹² Howells, *Life in Letters*, I, 22-3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 77.

¹⁵ Ohio Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration, *The Ohio Guide* (New York, 1940), 140; S. T. Williams, *The American Spirit in Letters* (New Haven, 1926), 259; Harlan Hatcher, *The Buckeye Country* (New York, 1940), 269.

¹⁶ Howells, *Life in Letters*, II, 389.

from 1873 to 1900. John J. Piatt was born in Indiana, as were so many literary figures, but he moved to Columbus, Ohio, at the age of ten. He was educated in the public schools of Columbus, at Capital University in Columbus and at Kenyon College at Gambier. As a youth he worked on the *Ohio State Journal* with Howells. In 1860, Piatt and Howells published together their *Poems of Two Friends*.¹⁷ Osman C. Hooper, Columbus journalist, one day saw a dray loaded with copies of the Piatt-Howells book bump along over rough and rocky High Street. A few copies, unknown to the driver, slipped over the wagon's sides. They found their way into a second-hand store where Hooper purchased his copy.¹⁸

Piatt did his most representative verse in "The Pioneer's Chimney," "The Lost Farm" and "The Mower in Ohio." He died in 1917. Sarah Morgan Piatt was not only a dutiful wife, but also a creative poet in her own right. Born in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1836, she early began to compose. Her marriage to Piatt and their friendship with Howells encouraged her to pursue her literary career. Her *Complete Poems* in two volumes were published in 1894, but while Howells went on to fame, the Piatts were forgotten and eventually had to be aided by the Authors' Club Fund.¹⁹

In 1896, a Toledo publisher, Hadley & Hadley, brought out an unpretentious-looking volume entitled *Majors and Minors*. Its author was Paul Lawrence Dunbar (1872–1906) of Dayton. Howells was struck by the beauty of the young Negro's verse and mentioned the collection in *Harper's Weekly*. Dunbar wrote Howells that his complimentary notice in *Harper's* had "knighted" him.²⁰ The Dayton poet and short-story writer published more than twenty volumes during his short life of thirty-four years. His *Lyrics of Lowly Life*, *Candle-Lightin' Time* and *Oak and Ivy* interpret the Negro sympathetically and simply. It was said after his death that "he was the only man of pure African blood and of American civilization to

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 7, 22.

¹⁸ Interview with Osman C. Hooper, Columbus, Oct., 1940.

¹⁹ Howells, *Life in Letters*, II, 346–7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 67–8.

feel the Negro life aesthetically and express it lyrically."²¹ He was one of Ohio's greatest literary contributions to the Nation's art.

On November 19, 1917, the Ohio Society of New York, an organization of Buckeyes living in Manhattan, heard a woman who had been born in Medina, Ohio, eulogized as one of the State's great poets. Edith Matilda Thomas, said Emilius O. Randall, did her major work before 1900. She published more than twenty volumes of verse and was nationally known as a contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Century*. A friend of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, author of the stirring *Ramona*, Miss Thomas possessed a "keen and logical intellect, a daring imagination and versatile fancy, a passionate love of nature, an Emersonian fondness for the occult, a fine taste for classicism and for the suggestive beauty of myth."²² Her *Lyrics and Sonnets* and *In Sunshine Land* show these characteristics. It was said that "the fire of her poetic genius burns undimmed" and that her work was "perused and praised by countless readers throughout our land."²³

Coates Kinney, endowed with the power of thought and the faculty of song, was more than a poet. He was a lawyer, editor, soldier and State senator, yet it was said that he never forgot the higher "business of his dreams." He composed the "Ohio Centennial Ode" in 1888 and was the author of one of the most popular poems of the nineteenth century, "Rain on the Roof." In addition, he wrote *Lyrics of the Ideal and Real* in 1887 and *Mists of Fire, a Trilogy*; and *Some Eclogs* in 1899. *Mists of Fire*, considered by many as Kinney's masterpiece, concerned the immortal soul of man. Its prevailing mood was "solemn, devout, religious, rising at times to the high seriousness of oracular utterance."²⁴ Kinney's philosophic musings did not appeal, however, to the man in the streets as much as did his famous "Rain on the Roof." The following verses from the poem indicate its appeal:

²¹ Emilius O. Randall, "High Lights in Ohio Literature," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXVIII (1919), 270.

²² E. O. Randall and D. J. Ryan, *History of Ohio* (New York, 1912), V, 81.

²³ Randall, "High Lights in Ohio Literature," 270.

²⁴ Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*, V, 77.

“When the humid shadows hover
 Over all the starry spheres,
 And the melancholy darkness
 Gently weeps in rainy tears,
 What a bliss to press the pillow
 Of a cottage-chamber bed,
 And listen to the patter
 Of the soft rain overhead.

“Now in memory comes my mother,
 As she used in years agone,
 To regard the darling dreamers
 Ere she left them till the dawn.
 O, I feel her fond look on me,
 As I list to this refrain,
 Which is played upon the shingles
 By the patter of the rain.

“Art hath naught of tone or cadence
 That can work with such a spell
 In the soul’s mysterious fountains,
 Whence the tears of rapture well,
 As that melody of nature,
 That subdued, subduing strain
 Which is played upon the shingles
 By the patter of the rain.”

A lesser-known Ohioan whose poetry possessed merit was Florus Beardsley Plimpton who was born in Elmyra, but who spent the major portion of his life in Cincinnati where he engaged in newspapering. He also resided in New York and Michigan. Plimpton’s ballad, “Lewis Wetzel,” is perhaps the best-remembered of his poems, although “The Reformer” and “The Poor Man’s Thanksgiving” were popular in their day.²⁵ Henry H. Bennett, Chillicothe

²⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 74-5.

book-illustrator and landscape painter, achieved fame with his patriotic lyric, "The Flag Goes By." William N. Guthrie of Cincinnati tinctured his verse with the religious spirit and wrote such books as *The Christ of the Ages in Words of Holy Writ* and *Songs of American Destiny*. Alice Archer Sewall James, an Urbana poet who wrote "Ode to Girlhood" and "The Ballad of the Prince," was described as possessing "originality, vigor and freshness of conception."²⁶ Other poets active during the period were Helen Louisa Bostwick Bird, Katherine Margaret Brownlee Sherwood, Alice Williams Brotherton and William Davis Gallagher (better known as a journalist than as a poet).²⁷

In 1881, William D. Gallagher published a collection of poems, *Miami Woods*, which interpreted, in the romantic tradition, the western country. His "Song of the Pioneers" gave appropriate emphasis to the many Old Settlers' Associations that were in vogue during the latter part of the century.²⁸ An entirely different type of verse was written by Lewis H. Bond whose *One Year in Briartown* brought laughter to hundreds of Ohioans. Bond specialized in exposing the foibles of small-town life. Writing both in prose and poetry, he was able to attract the attention of readers who wished amusement spiced with sarcasm. A much-quoted poem by Bond was "Bug Juice." It began

"Have you ever heard of a kind of gin
 That makes'em fat as well as thin,
 That makes'em tight as well as loose?
 Have you ever heard of Slangy Sleuce
 And his bug juice?"²⁹

From the 1870's until the turn of the century, there was a dreary period in Ohio prose as well as in Buckeye politics. The State produced few distinguished novelists who devoted themselves to stories

²⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 83.

²⁷ Many poems by Ohio authors may be found in C. L. Martzloff, *Poems on Ohio* (Columbus, 1911).

²⁸ William D. Gallagher, *Miami Woods, A Golden Wedding, and Other Poems* (Cincinnati, 1881), 104-7.

²⁹ Lewis H. Bond, *One Year in Briartown* (Cincinnati, 1879), 126.

of the place of their birth. William Dean Howells, of course, remembered Hamilton in *A Boy's Town* and frequently let his thoughts stray back to the land of the Little Miami. Albert Gallatin Riddle captured the scenes of Cuyahoga County and the region of the Western Reserve in several rather undistinguished novels—*Bart Ridgely*, and *The Portrait and House of Ross*. Riddle's biographies, *Life and Character of Garfield*, *Life of Benjamin F. Wade* and *Recollections of War Times*, were in the uninspired nineteenth-century manner and only little touched by the spirit of modern historical writing.

Even Albion Winegar Tourgee, born at Williamsfield in 1838, had little time for description of Ohio, but this was undoubtedly because he had lived abroad as United States Consul at Bordeaux, France, and later had moved to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Yet Tourgee showed intense interest in the theme of southern reconstruction.

Mary Hartwell Catherwood, born in Licking County in 1847, saw nothing to capture her literary efforts in the Ohio historical scene and turned her attention, in a series of novels, to the story of New France. *Old Kaskaskia*, her tale of the French in the Illinois region, intrigued her more than did pioneer and military life in Ohio, and John Uri Lloyd who first saw the day in Cincinnati in 1849 turned his talents to unrealistic stories of Kentucky and to weird pseudo-scientific romances of a subterranean world. Another Cincinnati author, Charles Frederic Goss, wrote with an ethical purpose in mind and gave little thought to Ohioland. Goss's novels might have been written anywhere. John Bennett, born in Chillicothe in 1865 and the author of *Master Skylark* which is known the world over as a masterpiece of its kind, fled Ohio to enjoy the southern charm of Charleston.

A physician, James Ball Naylor of Pennsville, wrote about as much as anyone concerning Ohio. *Ralph Marlowe* was the tale of an oil village on the Muskingum, and three other novels, *The Sign of the Prophet*, *In the Days of St. Clair* and *Under Mad Anthony's Banner*, dealt with Ohio history as the author conceived it. Dr. Henry Mallory practiced medicine in Hamilton and also found



32. HEART THROBS AND MELODRAMA TICKLED MIDDLE-CLASS TASTE

From *New York Family Story Paper*, Dec. 7, 1883.

opportunity to write a volume of pleasant sketches describing the colorful characters and the varied scenes that he had experienced during a long, practical life. He knew many of the literary figures of southern Ohio and was acquainted with physicians, lawyers and farmers for miles around Hamilton. Mallory's essays, written in the somewhat stilted style of his day, expressed the vigor and hope of a new country and as such were an addition to Buckeye literature.³⁰ Thomas Chalmers Harbaugh of Casstown was applauded when he brought out his *Stories of Ohio* and *Member from Miami*. The story of the "underground railroad" was described by Charles Humphrey Roberts in his "*Down the O-hi-o*" (Chicago, 1891), a narrative depicting Quaker life in the Pittsburgh region. John Brown Jewett of Newtown caught the Ohio scene in his

³⁰ Henry Mallory, *Gems of Thought and Character Sketches* (Hamilton, 1895).

Tales of the Miami Country. Among other stories which dealt with the Ohio country there appeared early in the nineties one by Edward Everett Hale, author of *The Man Without a Country*, entitled *The New Ohio*, a tale of Revolutionary times.³¹ Some Ohio authors, however, turned to foreign climes for the backgrounds of their plots.

Nathan Gallizier, for example, remained in his Cincinnati home to write novels dealing with Italian characters and history. Thomas Emmet Moore, born at Piketon, interested himself in the Turko-Armenian war of 1894. Another minor novelist, Howard Anderson Millet Henderson, was the author of *Diomede the Centurion*, said to give the reader a knowledge of the early Christian period. John Randolph Spears was known for his naval histories, and Francis C. Huebner wrote of Mexico. Even Burton Egbert Stevenson, Chillicothe journalist, librarian, poet and novelist, was lured from the American scene where he had made a reputation with such titles as *A Soldier of Virginia* and *The Young Section Hand* to old France which he used as a background for rather shabby tales such as *Cadets of Gascony*. As a matter of fact, no Ohio author, with the exception of Howells, has ever interpreted American life with such consummate skill and intellectual penetration in the period from 1870 to 1890.

If, however, Buckeye novelists failed to appreciate the national scene and, in the main, were minor both in vision and in talents, the State did produce a major humorist. David Ross Locke (1833-1888) was not as great a philosopher as the genial and penetrating Peter Finley Dunne, known to Americans as "Mr. Dooley," but he was apt and satirical. Although "Petroleum V. Nasby" did much of his writing before the Civil War, his influence continued throughout succeeding years. Locke, like another humorist upon whom Ohio has claim, was not born in the State. Locke was born in New York and Artemus Ward was a native of Maine. It is rather ironical that perhaps the most distinguished humorist born in Ohio, Wil-

³¹ Edward Everett Hale, *The New Ohio* (London, 1892).

liam Tappan Thompson, should have emigrated to Georgia and become better known there than in his native State.

No comic tale, written by an Ohioan, however, was more amusing than *Corporal Si Klegg*, a lively story of a farm boy who served throughout the Civil War. The author, Wilbur F. Hinman, served as lieutenant-colonel of the Sixty-fifth Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry, and his ludicrous tale of the adventures of Si Klegg provoked mirth for many years and frequently was found in the libraries of Civil War veterans throughout the country.³²

Contrasted with the sparkling wit of the Buckeye humorists was the more serious essay devoted to theology and social ethics. Henry Churchill King, beloved president of Oberlin College for many years, was a brilliant preacher, a careful scholar and an author of prominence. Among his contributions to the living literature of religion were *Reconstruction in Theology, Personal and Ideal Elements in Education, The Laws of Friendship, Human and Divine* and *The Ethics of Jesus*.³³ In addition, Dr. King was head of the King-Crane (American Section, Interallied Commission on Mandates in Turkey) Commission, appointed by President Wilson to report on and make recommendations concerning the peoples of the Near East in 1919. The commission spent about three months in the Near East and presented a report to the Peace Conference on August 28, 1919, but it was not published until December, 1922.³⁴

Another Oberlin contributor to the literature of theology and denominationalism was George Frederick Wright whose books included the *Logic of Christian Evidences, Studies in Science and Religion* and *Man and the Glacial Period*. Bishop James Whitfield Bashford, once president of the Ohio Wesleyan University, published an *Outline of the Science of Religion* and *God's Missionary Plan for the World*. Levi Gilbert, of Cincinnati, editor of the *West-*

³² Wilbur F. Hinman, *Corporal Si Klegg* (Cleveland, 1892). First copyrighted in 1887, more than forty-two thousand copies were printed within five years.

³³ Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*, V, 34.

³⁴ "First Publication of the King-Crane Report on the Near East. A Suppressed Official Document of the United States Government," *The Editor and Publisher* (New York), LV (1922), 27, Second Section, i-xxviii.

ern Christian Advocate, wrote *Side Lights on Immortality* and *The Hereafter and Heaven*. A Baptist divine, John R. H. Latchaw, became known for *The Problem of Philosophy* and *Inductive Psychology*. A Catholic clergyman, Bishop Thomas S. Byrne, was a translator of religious volumes from both the Italian and the German. The leading Theosophical Society writer, Jirah Dewey Buck, entitled his books *A Study of Man and the Way of Health* and *The Genius of Freemasonry*.

Among the prominent Jewish authors dealing with religious questions were Isaac M. Wise, prominent rabbi and leader of the Jewish Reform Movement in America, who was popular in Cincinnati both as a speaker and as an author. Among his published works were *Judaism and Christianity* and *History of the Hebrews' Second Commonwealth*. Kaufmann Kohler compiled *A Guide to Instruction in Judaism* and wrote on the ethical basis of Judaism. Other distinguished Jewish authors were Moses Mielziner, Louis Grossmann and David Philipson.³⁵

In Columbus, Washington Gladden who had come to that city in 1882 not only commanded attention by his sermons, but also became known as a forceful writer on many social, political, economic and ethical topics. His *Applied Christianity* was long a standard in its field and his *Social Facts and Forces* as well as his *Christianity and Socialism* and *The Church and Modern Life* provoked discussion among many groups. A president of Western Reserve University, Charles F. Thwing, became known nationally as a scholar who was also an administrator and who combined both talents in volumes as *The College Woman*, *The American College in American Life* and *Universities of the World*. Among the distinguished clergymen who added their abilities to the growing moral literature of the period were David Swing, Frank W. Gunsaulus, Charles W. Super, David A. Randall and William B. Wright.³⁶

While some Ohioans, such as Henry C. King, were engaging in

³⁵ Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*, V, 36-8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 39-41.

serious, religious literary productions, others were striving to make their work attractive for the entertainment of children. Martha Finley of Chillicothe wrote more than forty volumes of juvenile tales under the pseudonym of "Martha Farquharson." A Cleveland woman, Sarah C. Woolsey, hiding her identity under the name of "Susan Coolidge," told stories for little folks with such titles as *What Katy Did* and *Cross Patch*. Lydia H. Farmer, also of Cleveland, wrote the *Boys' Book of Famous Rulers* and *A Story Book of Science*. Another Cleveland author, Sarah K. Bolton, produced many instructive juveniles, among them being *How Success is Won*, *Poor Boys Who Became Famous* and *Famous American Authors*.

Editors, like authors, play a definite role in moulding public opinion and interpreting the lights and shadows of state life. "People generally and even those who may be termed steady readers and close observers," commented an Ohio editor in 1885, "have but a faint conception of the magnitude and influence the press of this country has attained."³⁷ The growth of newspapers in Ohio, indeed, was both rapid and prosperous. Dailies, tri-weeklies, semi-weeklies and weeklies of all types were coming from hand presses in village printing shops as well as from the mighty steam presses of urban newspaper establishments. In 1870, for example, about 336 different papers were being printed in the State. Ten years later the number had jumped to 652.³⁸ These included a variety of trade, foreign language, religious and professional papers.

Specialized journalism in Ohio included several journals devoted to agriculture and allied subjects. The *Ohio Practical Farmer*, published in Cleveland, offered farm news and special features to hundreds of rural homes. The *National Farmer*, published at Cincinnati, and the *Poultry Nation*, printed at Elyria, were popular for years as were *Farm and Fireside*, issued in Springfield, and *Gleanings in Bee Culture*, a monthly publication edited at Medina. Such periodicals were read as avidly as the daily papers. Indeed, many Ohio farmers subscribed only to an agricultural journal.

³⁷ *Ohio Farmer*, May 23, 1885.

³⁸ James M. Lee, *History of American Journalism* (New York, 1917), 351.

In 1880, about forty-three religious newspapers and periodicals were published in the State. These included the *Lutheran Evangelist*, published at Bellefontaine; the *American Israelite*, at Cincinnati; the *Protestantische Zeitblaetter*, Cincinnati; the *Catholic Universe*, Cleveland; the *Baptist Review*, Cincinnati; the *Religious Telescope*, Dayton; the *Banner of Zion*, Knoxville; and the *Messenger of Peace*, New Vienna. Of the forty-three, eighteen were printed in Cincinnati, nine in Cleveland, eight in Dayton and the remainder elsewhere in the State.

There were, of course, many specialized papers and periodicals. To call the roll of all would be of little value, but it is significant to note that fifteen publications were devoted to commerce and industry. Among these were the *Grange Bulletin*, Cincinnati; the *Trade Review*, Cleveland; and the *Ice and Fish News*, Sandusky. The *American Inventor* was being published in Cincinnati and the *Sewing Machine Gazette* at Wilmington. Cincinnati was publishing three out of the four law journals in the State. Two especially popular musical journals were *Baldwin's Musical Review*, Cincinnati, and *Brainard's Musical World*, Cleveland. Of the ten medical and surgical publications, eight were published in Cincinnati, one in Columbus and another in Toledo. The *Ohio Medical Recorder* and the *Lancet and Clinic* probably were the most popular journals in this class.

It was only natural that the great interest shown by Americans in secret organizations and lodges should reflect itself in the Ohio scene. Thousands of Buckeyes wore identification buttons in their lapels, greeted one another with a secret handshake, attended meetings on "lodge night" and read the paper of their order. Among the fraternal journals were the *Cincinnati Masonic Review*, the *Columbus Companion and American Odd Fellow*, and the *Cincinnati National Bulletin*, the organ of the Ancient Order of United Workmen. Temperance advocates read the *Signal* published at Delaware. The official magazine of the Knights of Pythias was the *Knight* printed at Columbus.

Ohio lawyers subscribed to one of four State legal journals, the

most widely distributed of which was the *Law Bulletin*, a daily and weekly paper published in Cincinnati. Cleveland attorneys frequently read the *American Law Record*, and in Columbus, counselors consulted the *Legal Record*.³⁹

The specialized journals devoted to business, social, or religious interests, of course, could not compete either in power or circulation with the great newspapers of the State. For years the Buckeye press was scanned with eager interest and close attention by political commentators and leaders throughout the Nation. In Cincinnati, a community having a population of more than two hundred thousand in 1880, the *Enquirer*, established in 1841, had a circulation of twenty-five thousand. J. J. Faran and John R. McLean, publishers of the *Enquirer*, faced stiff competition in Murat Halstead's *Commercial* and Richard Smith's *Gazette*. Halstead's paper had a daily and weekly circulation of twenty thousand and fifteen thousand, and Smith's *Gazette* sold fifteen thousand copies daily and twenty-five thousand weekly.

It was not until McLean threw open his columns for free classified ads and notices that the *Enquirer* was able to triumph over Halstead and Smith. The former was obliged to end his career working as a salaried employee on the Brooklyn *Standard Union* and the latter died, broken in body and spirit. Murat Halstead was considered one of Ohio's greatest editors. Not only was he a shrewd and competent editor, but he also was the biographer of McKinley, Dewey and Roosevelt.⁴⁰

Halstead was born in Butler County in 1829, was graduated from Farmer's College, near Cincinnati, and became a member of the staff of the Cincinnati *Commercial* in 1853 and its chief owner in 1865. He visited the theater of war as a special correspondent in 1898. Earlier he had achieved fame as a special reporter by witnessing and describing the hanging of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. In 1889, President Harrison nominated him as minister to Germany, but the Senate refused to confirm the appointment be-

³⁹ N. W. Ayer & Sons' *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia, 1880), *passim*.

⁴⁰ *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, VIII, 163.

cause of articles he had written denouncing the purchase of senatorial seats. He died in 1908.⁴¹

Of the sixty newspapers published in Cincinnati and Hamilton County in 1880, only about six survived the turn of the century. Among these were the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, established in 1841; the *Cincinnati Freie Presse* established in 1874; the *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, established in 1836; the *Cincinnati Live Stock Record*, established in 1881; the *Cincinnati Times-Star*, established in 1840; and the *Cincinnati Post* that began publication in 1881 under the name of the *Penny Paper*. The latter soon attracted the attention of E. W. Scripps who was publishing the *Cleveland Press* and was purchased by him, thus becoming the second of the Scripps' papers in Ohio. Staffed by a capable and brilliant corps of reporters and editors the *Post* celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1931 when many of its pioneer reporters returned for the celebration. Among these were Roy W. Howard, Irvin Cobb, Russell Wilson, Marlen E. Pew and O. O. McIntyre.⁴²

Another prominent Cincinnati newspaper, the *Times-Star*, began publication in 1879 when Charles P. Taft purchased the *Times* and the following year consolidated it with the *Star* which had been established in 1872 by the Star Publishing Company. A successful businessman and publisher, Taft edited one of the most stalwart Republican papers in Ohio. When he died in 1929, he was succeeded by his nephew, Hulbert Taft, as editor-in-chief and president of the company.⁴³ The *Times-Star* issued both an evening and a weekly edition and perhaps possessed the largest circulation in Cincinnati during the eighties. Its daily circulation reached as high as twenty-three thousand in 1880, and the weekly edition ran to over twenty-one thousand copies.

In addition to the leading newspapers and specialized journals published in the Queen City there were also numerous class periodicals and miscellaneous publications that offered both instruction

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Osman C. Hooper, *History of Ohio Journalism* (Columbus, 1933), 97.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 93.

and entertainment. Among the more prominent of these were *Saturday Night* (1872-1885), *Golden Hours* (1869-1881), *The Ladies' Repository*, a Methodist paper that was reaching its climax in 1880, and the *Present*, a cheap monthly that was published during the period 1884-1886.⁴⁴

Cleveland, a city of about one hundred sixty thousand persons in 1880, was reading about forty-six newspapers. Of these about seven survived the turn of the century. They were the *Gazette*, a Negro paper established in 1883; the *Lakewood Courier*, founded in 1896; the Cleveland *Live Stock News*, first published in 1896; the Cleveland *Press*, established in 1878; *Szabadsag*, a Hungarian paper founded in 1891; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, founded in 1866; and the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* that appeared in 1842. Other papers also played a prominent role.

"The *Herald* and the *Leader*," said Hooper, "both Republican, divided the morning field with the *Plain Dealer*, Democratic. In 1868 the *Leader* entered the evening field with the *News*, while the *Plain Dealer* also published an evening edition. The *Herald* in 1877 added a Sunday morning edition, but it continued to lose in its struggle with the *Leader*, and in 1880 it was bought by a group of businessmen headed by Mark A. Hanna. It continued to be a losing venture and was sold in 1885 to Liberty E. Holden who, in 1884, had bought the *Plain Dealer* from W. A. Armstrong. The *News* was carried on as an evening paper, under the name of the *News-Herald* by the publishers of the old *Herald*, the morning field being left to the *Leader* and the *Plain Dealer*. Early in the 1900's Medill McCormick secured control of the *Leader*, but soon sold to Dan R. Hanna, who bought the *News-Herald* (then the *News*), bringing the two papers under one control. Later he sold the *Leader* to the *Plain Dealer*, retaining the *News*, with which a number of other papers, including the *World*, the *Star*, the *Sun and Voice*, had been combined in 1907 by C. A. Otis."⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines* (Boston, 1938), III, 55.

⁴⁵ Hooper, *History of Ohio Journalism*, 104-5.

The first Scripps' newspaper in Cleveland was the *Penny Press* that Edward W. Scripps together with John S. Sweeney purchased in November, 1878. Selling at one cent a copy, this newspaper soon had a circulation of ten thousand. It brought the first cartoonist, Charles Nelan, to Cleveland and employed other notable journalists among them Earle E. Martin and John W. Raper.

The invention of the telegraph and improvements in the mechanics of printing stimulated enormously the growth of Ohio's newspapers. Edwin Cowles, editor of the Cleveland *Leader* and enemy of the Catholic Church, brought the first perfecting press to Cleveland in 1877. "Just think of an editor," exclaimed an enthusiastic journalist in 1886, "with a telephone ready at hand, with electric bells and speaking tubes at his desk, connecting every department of a flourishing business and then, not as romance do we write, coming to his office in a coupe and wearing a sealskin coat."⁴⁶

Among the prominent newspapers throughout the other sections of Ohio were the Columbus *Citizen* that began publication in 1899, the Columbus *Evening Dispatch*, established in 1871, and the *Ohio State Journal*, founded in 1811. The latter paper was Republican in its sentiments and in 1880 enjoyed a combined daily and weekly circulation of about eight thousand copies. Many Ohio Republicans contributed to the columns of the *Ohio State Journal*. Among these were William Dean Howells, James M. Comly and Alfred E. Lee. Democratic journals were supported by an equally notable group, including Samuel S. Cox, Amos Layman and Fred J. Wendell. Bitter rivalry existed between Columbus journalists prior to the turn of the century. On two occasions at least journalistic feuds resulted in bloodshed. In 1875, John A. Arthur was slain because of his editorial policies, and in 1891, Albert C. Osborn, publisher of the *World*, was murdered by W. J. and P. J. Elliot of the *Sunday Capital*, because of alleged slurs on the women of the Elliot family.

In Toledo, David Ross Locke ("Petroleum V. Nasby") made the *Blade* famous from 1865 until 1888 when he was editing the paper.

⁴⁶ Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Mar. 6, 1886.

Locke increased the circulation of the *Blade* in 1880 to more than fifty thousand copies. A master of satire, Locke made his letters in the *Blade* famous from the Atlantic to the Pacific.⁴⁷ The Dayton *Journal* was edited by William D. Bickman after the Civil War until his death in 1894, and the Dayton *Democrat* was controlled by John G. Doren until 1888. In that year Charles H. Simms purchased the *Evening Monitor* and the *Democrat*, changed their names to the *Morning Times* and the *Evening News*, and became one of the most successful publishers in the field. Ten years later the *Evening News* Company was organized by James M. Cox who suspended the *Times* and devoted his energies to making the *News* an outstanding Democratic sheet.⁴⁸ County newspapers in Ohio followed much the same pattern of rural journals everywhere until after the turn of the century when boiler-plate, "canned" feature articles and other syndicated features brightened their pages.⁴⁹

Ohio has long been proud of its distinctive editors and journalists. In order to honor outstanding newspapermen, the School of Journalism of the Ohio State University, under the direction of Osman C. Hooper, conceived the idea in 1928 of an Ohio Journalism Hall of Fame. The plan instantly caught public approval. On November 9, 1928, the first elections to the Hall were made. They included William Maxwell, Charles Hammond, Joseph Medill, Samuel Sullivan Cox, Murat Halstead, David Ross Locke, William Dean Howells and Whitelaw Reid. Of this group only Maxwell and Hammond lived and wrote before 1873. In later years, the names of Washington McLean, Januarius Aloysius MacGahan, John T. Mack, Edward W. Scripps and Edwin Cowles were added. Men such as these exemplified the spirit of Ohio journalism. It was their memory that prompted the verse:

"When the newspaper came to Ohio,
'Twas only a tallow-dip, true,

⁴⁷ Ohio Journalism Hall of Fame, *Addresses at the Inauguration of the Hall and the Announcement of the 1st Election, Nov. 9, 1928* (Columbus, n.d.), *Journalism Series*, No. 7, p. 23.

⁴⁸ Hooper, *History of Ohio Journalism*, 114-5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 116-52.

But it lighted the way to the wondrous Today,
 With its chances to be and to do.
 It served as it could in our weakness;
 Of us, when we go to our rest,
 May the same gracious word be everywhere heard:
 ‘He gave, in his service, his best.’ ”⁵⁰

“Probably to a stranger the chief interest of Cincinnati,” wrote Charles Dudley Warner, “is not in its business enterprises, great as they are, but in another life just as real and important, but which is not always considered in taking account of the prosperity of a community—the development of education and of art. For a long time the city has had an independent life in art and in music.”⁵¹ Rollin L. Hartt, after an extended visit in the State, wrote that “in the realm of music, Cincinnati with her Pilsener and her Wiener-wurst, her violin and merry Trinklied, sits undisputed Kaiserin.”⁵²

Cincinnati, indeed, was the cynosure of musical eyes. The Queen City with its large German population gave itself passionately to vocal and instrumental music of all types. Concerts, private and professional, drew large and approving audiences. In Cleveland, Columbus and Dayton interest in music was marked, but these cities did not achieve distinction as did Cincinnati with its annual musical festival.

The Musical Festival, known throughout the United States for the richness of its programs and the abilities of its artists, was first discussed in the summer of 1872 when seven men came together to plan its organization. Among the promoters were George Ward Nichols, John Shillito and Daniel B. Pierson. Invitations were sent to some thirty-six choral societies of America. The first festival was held in May, 1873, in a hall erected for the Saengerfest of the North American Saengerbund in 1870. Theodore Thomas, distinguished musician, was placed in charge of the festival and Otto Singer, of

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁵¹ Charles D. Warner, “Studies in the Great West,” *Harper’s Magazine* (New York), LXXVII (1888), 432, 459.

⁵² Rollin L. Hartt, “The Ohioans,” *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), LXXXIV (1899), 688.

New York, trained a chorus of seven hundred soloists. Thomas directed an orchestra of 108 pieces.⁵³

Choral groups journeyed to Cincinnati from many Ohio communities. They came from Xenia, Middletown, Hamilton, Mansfield, Urbana and Lebanon to join voices with Queen City clubs such as the Harmonic Society, the Maennerchor, Orpheus, St. Cecilia, and the Mozart Quartette and Chorus. Among the distinguished soloists were Anna Louise Carey, contralto; Mrs. E. R. Dexter and Mrs. H. M. Smith, sopranos; Nelson Varey, tenor; J. F. Rudolphsen, baritone; and M. W. Whitney, basso. Visitors traveled from great distances to listen to singers such as these take the leading roles in Handel's "Dettingen Te Deum," Beethoven's "C Minor Symphony," and Mendelssohn's "The First Walpurgis Night."

"The novelties of the Festival," enthusiastically said the Cincinnati *Commercial*, "are so many and so imposing in character that we should think the hall would be crowded by our own citizens from the outset. It has been necessary heretofore for those desiring acquaintance with the old masters to journey to Boston, New York, or Europe."⁵⁴ The *Commercial*'s editor went on to say that the singing and orchestration would be on a scale hitherto unknown west of the Alleghenies, but promised that there would be no straining after effect—"no firing of twelve-pounders by electricity, nor rattling of all the big bells in the city."

So great, indeed, was the response to the first festival that plans were perfected for a permanent organization, and the second program was given in May, 1875. Since that time the Cincinnati Festival has been a high light of the city's musical season. Among the prominent festival directors were Carl Barus, Otto Singer, Michael Brand, Arthur Mees, Louis Ehr Gott and B. W. Foley. In 1879 and 1882, directors of the festival offered a prize of a thousand dollars for the best composition written by a native American. The contest focused the eyes of musical America upon Ohio, although neither of the prize winners had any connection with this State. Dudley Buck, of

⁵³ Charles T. Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati* (Chicago, 1904), I, 874.

⁵⁴ Cincinnati *Commercial*, May 5, 1873.

New York, won the prize when it was first offered for a composition entitled "Scenes from Longfellow's Golden Legend" and W. W. Gilchrist, of Philadelphia, took the award in 1882 with his "Setting of the Forty-Sixth Psalm."

Probably no institution played a more distinguished role in Ohio's musical history than did the Cincinnati Music Hall that was conceived in 1875 by Reuben R. Springer and Mrs. A. D. Bullock and completed on Elm Street three years later. This building, an imposing structure housing a mighty organ costing more than thirty thousand dollars, was financed both by private subscription and by donations from the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade and the Ohio Mechanics' Institute. For years the Music Hall was the center of cultural activity in Cincinnati. A brick building designed in semi-Gothic style, the Music Hall at the time of its construction was unequalled in the United States. Its interior panelling of wood and its ceiling of polished cedar lent splendor and dignity to concerts and lectures.⁵⁵

Cincinnati, however, was not content to produce one of the greatest festivals in one of the finest auditoriums of the Nation. Enterprising citizens and music educators wished also to make their city the center of musical instruction. In October, 1878, George Ward Nichols, one of Cincinnati's public-spirited men, suggested that a college of music be formed. Theodore Thomas, a native of Germany and a veritable bundle of energy, became the first director of the Cincinnati College of Music, holding this position from 1878 to 1881. During his regime, the college flourished, instruction was excellent and concerts presented both by faculty and students were received with the greatest acclaim. In 1891, Thomas went to Chicago to become the leader of the Chicago Orchestra.⁵⁶ A series of ten concerts devoted to chamber music was directed by Thomas in College Hall in 1879 and was described as a performance of which Cincinnati could be proud.⁵⁷ A year later a musical critic wrote that

⁵⁵ Clara Longworth De Chambrun, *Cincinnati: Story of the Queen City* (New York, 1939), 260.

⁵⁶ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 929.

⁵⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 2, 1879.

Thomas' string quartet could not be excelled anywhere in the world.⁵⁸ That Thomas and the College of Music did succeed in attracting the attention of musical educators is demonstrated by the fact that in July, 1879, more than three hundred members of the National Music Teachers' Association held their annual meeting in Cincinnati.⁵⁹

In 1886, Bush W. Foley organized a chorus of female voices at the College of Music that frequently appeared in joint concerts with the Apollo Club, a male glee chorus that had been organized in 1883. The Orpheus Club, another group of male voices, was formed in 1893. At the same time the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra was organized and has had a distinguished part in the musical annals of the city. There were many other groups devoted to singing and to playing. Some of these lived for only a relatively short time. Others continued to delight an appreciative public for years. The Cincinnati Musical Club, for example, was organized in 1876 and was composed of both professional and amateur musicians interested in classical music, piano pieces and string chamber music. At the same time, the Cincinnati Choral Society met for the "study and rendition of classic vocal music, the cultivation and elevation of musical taste, and the advancement of musical art."⁶⁰ Members of the Cincinnati Harmonic Society met each Monday evening in Melodeon Hall to rehearse such masterpieces as Mendelssohn's "St. Paul," and Mozart's "Requiem."⁶¹ Another popular group was the Cincinnati Cornet Band that gave concerts at the Atlantic Theatre.⁶²

For many years Germans in Cincinnati presented a Saengerfest that was attended not only by persons living in the section called "Over the Rhine," but also by the socially elite of the town. In June, 1879, Otto Singer conducted the program. Railroads of Ohio reduced rates for the Saengerfest.⁶³ During the same season the mass

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1880.

⁵⁹ *Cincinnati Gazette*, May 13, 1879.

⁶⁰ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Nov. 3, 1876.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1876.

⁶² *Cincinnati Commercial*, Mar. 5, 1882.

⁶³ *Cincinnati Gazette*, June 7, 1879.

chorus of the united Catholic choirs undertook a Catholic Charity Concert that brought out a house of thirty-eight hundred persons and raised more than two thousand dollars for benevolent purposes.⁶⁴

Musical entertainment, indeed, was so rich and so varied that for years Ohio had to acknowledge the supremacy of Cincinnati in song and orchestra. Taste in the Queen City was varied and catholic. Among the more novel forms of musical entertainment given in Music Hall was a minstrel festival at which the banjo and "Brudder Bones" delighted a huge audience with songs made popular by Christy and Foster. "Music Hall," commented an editor, "is not associated in the popular mind with Negro minstrelsy, but there was no desecration in the singing within its walls of the old plantation melodies as they were sung last night."⁶⁵

Cincinnati took great pride in its young musicians and paid ready deference to those who had found fame. The city sent many of its talented artists abroad to study and welcomed them home with open arms and elaborate receptions. When Miss Josephine Jones left for study in Germany she was given a complimentary concert in Pike's Opera House. She sang against a floral background of a "double-arch beautifully and gracefully decorated in the most artistic manner with ferns, plants, bright and gorgeous flowers, entwining plants, lovely roses, tulips, the gushing snowball and scarlet geranium."⁶⁶ On another occasion, Carl Barus, ardent patron of music, was the honored guest at a concert at Music Hall where a choir of two hundred voices under the direction of Theodore Thomas sang Verdi's "Requiem." Among the soloists was Hugo Landau, a Cincinnati boy recently returned from study abroad.⁶⁷

Cincinnati, however, was not the only tuneful town in Ohio. Cleveland, a city of industry and of many races, also developed a distinguished musical history even though it was not to reach the dizzy heights of prominence that were the Queen City's. Like its

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, May 5, 24, 1879.

⁶⁵ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1884.

⁶⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 17, 1879.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1880.

sister city, Cleveland was blessed with large numbers of Germans who brought with them a love of music. The first Gesangverein was said to have been organized in 1848, but the first great Saengerfest did not take place until June, 1874, when nearly fifteen hundred singers and fifty singing societies gathered in Cleveland for a week of music. A temporary hall had been erected on Euclid Avenue between Case and Sterling streets to house an audience of nine thousand persons. Saengerfest Hall was elaborately decorated for the festival, and the streets of the city were hung with American and German flags. Governor Allen opened the celebration and Dr. G. C. E. Weber read a paper in German on the significance of music. The program itself was distinguished. The New York Philharmonic Orchestra gave a series of concerts, and the talented prima donna, Madame Pauline Lucca, sang at three concerts. The last Saengerfest sponsored by the Cleveland Gesangverein was held in July, 1893. At that time Governor McKinley attended the opening concert.⁶⁸

Singing clubs, of course, were numerous throughout the State. The Cleveland Vocal Society was organized in 1873 and for more than thirty years presented concerts under the able leadership of Alfred Arthur. The Harmonic Club, directed by J. T. Wamelink, grew into a mixed chorus of a hundred and fifty voices. Two other well-known groups were the Singers' Club organized in 1891 by a group of young men at the Cleveland Y. M. C. A. and the Rubinstein Club formed in 1899 by Mrs. R. B. Fry who wished a choir of female voices. Both clubs continued to present programs until past the turn of the century. Another outstanding group of voices was the Fortnightly Musical Club formed in 1894 by Mrs. J. H. Webster. By 1901 this group had become so strong that it presented a musical festival which lasted for five days. In addition, the society sponsored a series of seven symphony concerts.⁶⁹

Chamber music was furnished Clevelanders by as distinguished a group of musicians as could be found in the United States. About

⁶⁸ Samuel P. Orth, *A History of Cleveland, Ohio* (Chicago, 1910), I, 451-2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 455-7.

1875 the Cecilian String Quartet was organized by John Nuss, violin, Phillip Grotenthaler, second violin, and the Koeningslow brothers with viola and cello. The name was then changed to the Schubert Quartet and still later to the Philharmonic String Quartet. Although chamber music was especially preferred by the German element in Cleveland, there were other types of immigrant music. In 1873, William Kirk organized the Oriental Concert Band. Italians expressed themselves by means of the Banda Rossini, and the Bohemian population organized the Murda Band. Other famous bands were Jack Leland's group which played at the inauguration of President Garfield, the Great Western Band and the Germania Band.

In 1874, Alfred Arthur founded the Cleveland School of Music that corresponded with the College of Music in Cincinnati. Three years earlier, however, William Heydler, son of a German immigrant, had organized the Cleveland Conservatory of Music and had gathered about him an unusually strong faculty. John Hart taught the violin and John Underner, said to be one of the most accomplished singing masters in the country, instructed in voice. Among Underner's pupils were Birdie Hale Britton and Ella Russell.⁷⁰ The Cleveland Symphony Orchestra was the result of many influences and grew gradually until in 1910 it presented a series of ten Sunday-afternoon concerts.

Musical interest throughout Ohio was marked, but was not championed as ardently as in Cincinnati and Cleveland. In Dayton, a Philharmonic Society was flourishing in 1876 and years later Canton supported a Symphony Orchestra. In Columbus, Toledo, Hamilton and other communities informal singing groups organized to present recitals and thus did their part to make the State conscious of harmony. The usual costume of a singing teacher throughout the State was a long frock coat, stiff-standing collar and white tie that set off contrasting-color trousers that ended in patent-leather shoes.⁷¹

Closely allied to the development of musical appreciation

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 453.

⁷¹ Charles E. Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1925), 325.

throughout the State was the growth of interest in the fine arts. In 1826, Frederick Eckstein opened an Academy of Fine Arts in Cincinnati, and two years later Frederick Franks founded his Gallery of Fine Arts where such painters as Miner K. Kellogg and W. H. Powell received training. It was not until 1869, however, that the School of Design began to serve artists of the Queen City.⁷² Cleveland, of course, did not develop its art institutions until later. A few artists in the lake city were struggling with brush and palette, but not until after the Civil War did an art colony and an art institute play a significant role.⁷³ Smaller communities throughout the State developed amateur, rather than professional, artists.

"The poets and artists have a calendar of their own," said a Cincinnati observer, "and when the world goes to Saratoga and the seaside where Madame dresses and Mademoiselle coquets and Monsieur, my Lord, pays the bills to the verge of bankruptcy, the artist joyfully takes advantage of the enforced pause of life and works all summer in his studio to finish his picture for the fall exhibition."⁷⁴ Among these artists struggling in the summer's heat of the Queen City were William P. Noble, working at the Cincinnati Art School on his conception of Greeley's "Go West, young man, go West," and Aubery, laboring in his studio in the Reid Building on a scene from Dante's "Inferno."⁷⁵

By 1882, the east end of Vine Street had become the mecca for Cincinnati's artists. This small colony was producing extremely creditable work, and shops and galleries were exhibiting the paintings of Wilbur W. Woodward and others. At Closson's Gallery, a display room was filled with Woodward's canvases even though the artist had died suddenly and no longer could be expected to take an interest in the sale of his pictures. A roving reporter dropped in upon Lindsay who was as "busy and cheerful as ever, taking advantage of the last of the western light, and making his brush tell

⁷² Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 935.

⁷³ Orth, *A History of Cleveland*, I, 459.

⁷⁴ *Cincinnati Commercial*, June 28, 1879.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1879.

at every stroke." ⁷⁶ The picture on Lindsay's easel was a large landscape of woods and rolling hills with a glimpse of Lake Chautauqua in the distance.

In another Vine-Street studio, two girls, Annie Schaeffer and Estella Case, were working upon life-size portraits and crayon sketches. When the reporter dropped in at Clark's gallery, he found on exhibition Joseph R. De Camp's "Street Scene in Venice." De Camp had been graduated from the Cincinnati School of Design in 1878 and had gone abroad to become a pupil of Duveneck in Munich. Other studios and galleries were buzzing with comment concerning the foreign successes of another Cincinnati-trained artist. Henry Mosler had recently exhibited his "Le Premier Bateau" at the *Cercle Artistique et Littéraire*, one of the most exclusive galleries in Paris. This painting was typical of the period. It represented a small boy who has pulled off one of his sabots and "is sailing it in a moss green trough attached to an old well at the back of a cottage, his chubby-cheeked young mother is standing by knitting, one small sister is eating a green apple and watching the experiments in navigation, and a still younger child is lying in the long grass filling her hat with wild flowers."

Other Cincinnati artists, such as Schmidt and Niehaus, were working in bronze. Eva C. Davis was modeling in clay; Grafton was expressing himself in water colors; and Alice Guysi, a versatile person, was exhibiting pottery, water colors and crayon sketches. Mary Johnson already had achieved a reputation with her wood-carving, and Ben Pittman was designing stained-glass windows.⁷⁷

In 1883, J. Henry Sharpe, a young Cincinnati artist, attracted attention with his picture, "Boogers," that portrayed the horror felt by children for spooks. C. H. Niehaus, the sculptor, was at work upon his statue of Garfield that eventually went to the Capitol in Washington. Mrs. Josie C. Millikin of Hamilton was making a name for herself with limoge work, a new type of art that was fast becoming popular. She showed a studio lamp mounted in Egyptian

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar. 26, 1882.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Apr. 9, 1882.

fashion, a vase of Japanese pattern and a panel decorated in gold and bronze Japanese flowers.⁷⁸ Three years earlier an extensive display of limoge had attracted much attention in the Cincinnati press.⁷⁹ In 1876, one of the earliest exhibitions of camera studies was displayed by Landy in the windows of Robert Clarke.⁸⁰

It was pointed out time and again during the seventies that Cincinnati needed an art gallery where one or two good loan exhibitions could be shown annually in order to develop and cultivate a thoroughly good taste in painting. Another need was for an art club or sketch club.⁸¹ Commentators pointed to an increase in interest in the arts in general and said that not only the sale of paintings was on the increase, but that the quality of talent was improving.⁸² Artists in Cleveland were prospering also. A. M. Willard, for example, sold two paintings to a Forest City dentist for fifteen hundred dollars.⁸³

As a matter of fact, Cincinnati showed real appreciation of its artists. When, for example, the distinguished Henry Mosler returned from abroad in 1885, a warm welcome was extended him by members of the Art Museum who entertained him informally at their rooms in Music Hall. More than five hundred artists, art students and patrons gathered to pay their respects to Mosler who had had his work hung in the Paris salon. At the same time, however, that this successful artist was receiving plaudits, the deserted wife of another Cincinnati painter attempted suicide because of discouragement and poverty.⁸⁴

Artists continued to work without the aid of institutional assistance until 1877 when plans were made by Mrs. Aaron F. Perry for the organization of a permanent art museum. A group of Cincinnati women pushed the project without much avail until 1882 when Charles W. West announced that he would contribute one hundred

⁷⁸ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, May 17, 1883.

⁷⁹ Cincinnati *Gazette*, Apr. 27, 1880.

⁸⁰ Cincinnati *Commercial*, June 1, 1876.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, June 16, 28, 1879.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Apr. 9, 1882.

⁸³ Cleveland *Leader*, Dec. 4, 1875.

⁸⁴ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Sept. 24, 1885.

and fifty thousand dollars to an art institute provided a similar sum was raised by subscription. As a result, the Cincinnati Museum Association was incorporated on February 15, 1881. On February 3, 1882, the City of Cincinnati passed an ordinance permitting "the erection of a museum and such other buildings as may be incidentally connected therewith" in Eden Park.⁸⁵ The report of the first annual meeting of the Cincinnati Museum Association showed that 148 stockholders approved the Eden Park site and indicated that Joseph Longworth had donated a collection of thirty drawings.⁸⁶

Temporary quarters were found in the Music Hall while the Eden Park building was under construction. When the Museum was dedicated on May 17, 1886, crowds thronged its marble staircases and gazed at its festive decorations of flags and bunting. "The ceremonies of today," said Amor Smith, mayor of Cincinnati, "forge another link to the chain of progress in the onward course of Cincinnati, that places her a peer among the cities of the world in science, literature, and art." A. T. Goshorn, director of the Centennial Exposition of 1876, spoke of the new museum as "the embodiment of culture and progressive thought among us and as the fruit of the best impulses for the promotion of moral and intellectual teaching."⁸⁷

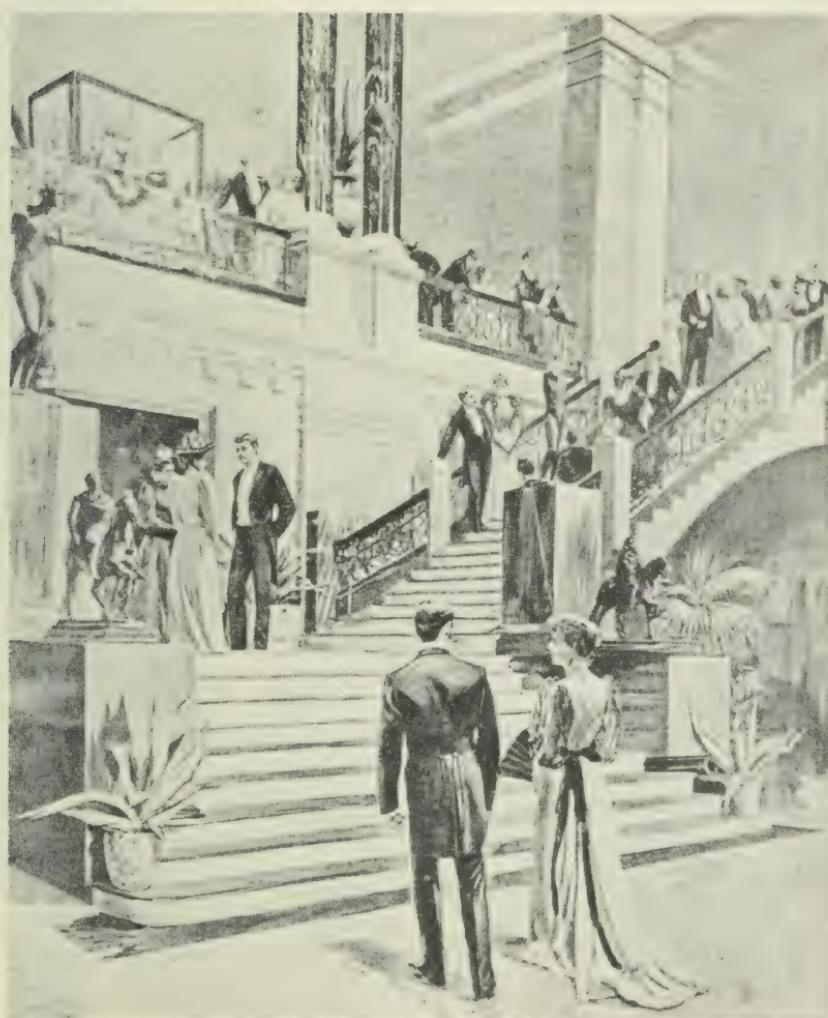
The structure itself was an imposing example of the popular Romanesque style of architecture as interpreted by Richardson. J. W. McLaughlin designed the original building that was constructed of rough, native limestone. Its massive walls ranged up to broken ashlar work. The arches, string courses and cornices were of red syenite granite from Missouri and the roof was covered with red Akron tiles. The museum itself was organized according to the arrangement of the South Kensington Museum in London.

Closely related to the Art Museum was the Art Academy of Cincinnati, an institution that succeeded the McMicken School of Design. Judge Nicholas Longworth succeeded in transferring as a gift

⁸⁵ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 936.

⁸⁶ *Cincinnati Commercial*, Mar. 7, 1882.

⁸⁷ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, May 18, 1886.



33. A RECEPTION AT THE CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM
Harper's Weekly, Apr. 15, 1893.

the School of Design to the Art Museum in 1884, thus bringing together two of Cincinnati's great artistic institutions.⁸⁸ Building was begun on the School of Design next to the museum in March, 1886, but the work was not completed until the following year. This institution was officially known as the Art Academy of Cincinnati.

Another interesting development in the annals of art in the Queen City was the founding of the Rookwood Pottery works that had its genesis in the activities of Mrs. Maria Longworth Storr who in 1880 opened a pottery which she called "Rookwood." Nine years later the pottery had become self-supporting and was producing a variety of overglazed porcelain decorations and brightly decorated clays. By 1892, the concern sought a new home on Mount Adams. Among its distinguished products were the famous "Tiger Eye," first made in 1884; "Gold Stone," more limpid in quality; "Sea Green," an opalescent green; and "Iris," a lighter color scheme of more delicate body.⁸⁹

Art education, museums and organizations, however, were not confined to Cincinnati alone. In 1876, a group of Cleveland Germans, including F. C. Gottwald, Herman Herkomer and Emil Wehrschildt, organized an art club that found rooms on the top floor of the new city hall building. In 1884, this club became the Cleveland Art School. Two years previously, the Cleveland School of Art had been founded by Mrs. S. H. Kimball who in 1888 succeeded in incorporating it as a part of Western Reserve University.⁹⁰ Although it was not until 1913 that the Cleveland Museum of Art was incorporated, a number of artists' groups were flourishing in the city. During the 1890's a Camera Club attracted much attention as did the Brush and Palette Club that was founded in 1893 and the Water Color Society that was organized a year later. Most artists, if they exhibited their work at all, did so at Ryder's Art Store on Superior Street, the only art gallery in the city.

⁸⁸ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Feb. 2, 1884.

⁸⁹ Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 937-8.

⁹⁰ Orth, *History of Cleveland*, I, 459-60.

Probably the first exhibit of consequence was the Art Loan exhibition held in Cleveland in 1893. The purpose of the exhibition was to raise money to alleviate the general sufferings incident to the panic. Artists from all over the United States sent canvases with the result that the amount of money raised was most gratifying. In 1894, the exhibition was repeated with special attention paid to loan exhibits of statuary and Napoleonic relics. Among the paintings on display at the Olney Art Gallery were Michael Munkacsy's "Christ Before Pilate" and Gerome's "Crucifixion."⁹¹ A newspaper reporter, remembering these early days of the beginning of art in Cleveland with affection, described the Cleveland School of Art as an institution with a leaky roof that dripped impartially upon instructors and students.⁹²

Other Ohio cities were not far behind Cincinnati and Cleveland in their art appreciation. The Columbus Art Association was formed at the home of Mrs. Alfred Kelley in October, 1878. This group accumulated a small library of books relating to art and raised its first money by sponsoring a course of lectures given by Francis Sessions, director of the Chicago Art Institute. A Pen and Pencil Club was organized in 1897. In 1887, two organizations, the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts and the Columbus Art Association, merged with the latter assuming control until 1923 when further changes in jurisdiction were made. In Akron, Miss Minnie Fuller organized the art department of Buchtel College in 1891 upon the plan in operation at the Art Students' League of New York City. Not until 1922, however, did the Akron Art Institute come into being. The Toledo Museum of Art was not organized until 1901 and the Allen Art Museum at Oberlin was founded seven years later. The Dayton Art Institute was the result of the enthusiasm of the Montgomery Art Association that convened in June, 1912. At Canton, the Academy of Fine Arts was presented to the city by F. E. Case in 1928.⁹³

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 460-1.

⁹² Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland*, 301.

⁹³ Edna Maria Clark, *Ohio Art and Artists* (Richmond, Va., 1932), chap. IX.

Among the art institutions of Ohio that attract thousands of visitors to view exhibits is the Ohio State Museum, a development of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society that was organized on March 12, 1885, in order to promote the knowledge of the history of the State. First given space in 1888 in the State House, the society attracted favorable attention in 1893 when it prepared a comprehensive exhibit for show at the Chicago Columbian Exposition. On May 30, 1914, the society moved into a building of classic design which was situated upon the campus of the Ohio State University. It has served the people of the Buckeye State with zeal and fidelity, has promoted scholarship and has earned itself the label of being indispensable.

Ohio contributed some outstanding works of art to the history of aesthetics in the United States. In the seventies, art life, as has been seen, became alert in Cincinnati. The preeminence of the Queen City over other western cities during the nineteenth century in art has been unquestioned.⁹⁴ There Henry Mosler worked with James H. Beard. The first picture by an American purchased by the French government was Mosler's "The Prodigal's Return," a scene of Breton peasant life. The golden period of art in Cincinnati ranged from 1870 to 1890. Led by the versatile Frank Duveneck, men like John Twachtman, Joseph De Camp, Charles H. Niehaus, Robert Henri, L. H. Meakin and William Forsyth produced sketches and canvases of superior quality. Duveneck's "The Whistling Boy" was said to proclaim a new era in American art. The Cincinnati Art Museum houses an excellent collection of Duveneck paintings. Twachtman became known for "The Waterfall" and De Camp for a canvas entitled "Woman Drying Her Hair." Meakin felt the love of nature and his "Ohio Valley and Kentucky Hills" expressed the beauty of native landscape. Another artist influenced by Cincinnati was Henry F. Farny who moved to that city in 1859 and devoted himself to the painting of Indians. He also illustrated Venable's poem, "The Teacher's Dream."⁹⁵

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁹⁵ Cincinnati Art Museum, *Cincinnati Artists of the Past* (Cincinnati [1942]), *passim*.

Among Cleveland's outstanding painters were Archibald M. Willard, born in Wellington, whose "Spirit of '76" was familiar to thousands of Americans; Hubert and Herman Herkomer became known at home and abroad; and Louis Loeb was noted for his portraiture in rich, mellow tones. Max Bohm who spent his early life in Cleveland as drawer, painter and lithographer, went to Paris at the age of nineteen to become the author of the skilled canvas, "The Family" that was purchased for the Luxembourg. Leaving the United States in 1887, he returned in 1915 to make America his permanent home and devoted himself to murals. "The New England Town Meeting" painted in the law library of the Cuyahoga County Court House represents Bohm at his best. Other Cleveland artists were John Kavanaugh, Frank H. Tompkins, F. W. Simmons and Kenyon Cox.⁹⁶

Marietta produced Lily Martin who studied in Cincinnati and who became known when her pictures were exhibited at the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876. In addition, she painted portraits of many famous Americans including Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Robert Ingersoll. John Frankenstein hailed from Springfield and claimed to be the first American artist to paint Niagara Falls on the spot. Although he died in 1873, he left one of the most distinguished heritages to the history of Ohio art. The portrait of Henry Howe, the Ohio historian, that hung in the State Library in Columbus was the work of another Springfield artist, S. Jerome Uhl, whose studio was the pride of the town in 1880. Among the long list of Dayton artists the name of Edmond Edmondson stands out after the Civil War as one devoted to careful interpretations of still life.

In Columbus, John H. Witt and Silas Martin achieved reputations as excellent instructors and careful artists. It was Martin who painted the portrait of Governor Thomas Kirker. Phil Clover studied in Paris in 1879 and when he returned to Columbus shocked citizens by exhibiting a nude figure in a High Street window. In

⁹⁶ Clark, *Ohio Art and Artists*, 124-33.

1893, Clover exhibited at the Chicago fair a painting entitled "General Putnam and his Band Landing on the Banks of the Muskingum River, April 7, 1788." James H. Mosure came to prominence as an artist interested in Negro character. It was he who illustrated the delightful *Uncle Remus* tales. In 1881, another Columbus artist, Elis F. Miller, exhibited a series of canvases at the American Water Color Society in New York. John Jay Barber opened a studio in Columbus in 1871 after serving some years earlier in the Union Army. Specializing in pictures of cattle, Barber was awarded a prize at the New Orleans World's Fair in 1884 for his faithful reproduction of stock. Albert C. Fauley painted the McKinley portrait that was hung in the State House.⁹⁷

The Draconian Club organized in Toledo about 1875 marked the beginning of organized interest in art. It is interesting to note that David R. Locke ("Petroleum V. Nasby") took great interest in the club, supported its exhibits and praised it in the columns of the *Toledo Blade*. Thomas S. Parkhurst, a young friend of Locke's, associated himself with the Draconians and grew with the organization. Parkhurst himself was primarily interested in marine life and devoted much of his time to Atlantic coastal scenes. Edmund Osthause became known for his portrayal of dogs, and his interpretations are found hanging in the Toledo Museum of Art, Valentine Theater and Toledo Club.⁹⁸

Ohio sculptors, although not as numerous as painters, nevertheless produced work of excellent quality. In Cincinnati, early sculptors included Hiram Powers who was modeling in wax in 1825 and whose claim to fame rests, in part, upon "The Greek Slave" that was completed in 1843. Charles Bullet, a Frenchman, used marble as his medium in his Cincinnati studio prior to the Civil War. Another pre-war sculptor was William Walcutt, of Columbus, whose monument of Admiral Perry was unveiled in Cleveland on September 10, 1860, with George Bancroft, distinguished historian, making the address. Thomas D. Jones, of Welsh descent and a

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 113-20.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 120-4.

Cincinnati granite cutter, closed a distinguished career when he died during the early eighties. The Lincoln Monument in the Capitol at Columbus was executed by him. He also made busts of Thomas Ewing, Henry Clay, Thomas Corwin, Salmon P. Chase, William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor. Moses Ezekiel, born in Richmond, Virginia, was graduated from the Virginia Military Academy at Lexington and later studied medicine. In 1868 he arrived in Cincinnati to begin study with T. D. Jones who at that time had a wide reputation in modeling. Within a year, however, Ezekiel went abroad where he won the Michelbeer prize of Rome for a relief. His carving was said to be skillful and exquisite showing the effects of German training in his realistic detail. When he sent his "Religious Freedom" to the United States to be exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial it was received with great acclaim. Levi T. Scofield executed the Cuyahoga County Soldiers' Monument. He also created "Ohio's Jewels," first exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair and representing Cornelia with outstretched hands pointing to a group of distinguished Ohioans gathered about her.

Ohio's greatest sculptor was said to be J. Q. A. Ward who was trained in New York in 1849 and who even as a student showed extreme promise. Coming to Columbus in 1860, Ward executed a bust of Governor William Dennison and another of Dr. Lincoln Goodale. The pull of the artistic circles of the East, however, was too strong for him to resist, and he returned to New York in 1861 where he opened a studio. Although Ward did not forget Urbana, Ohio, the place of his birth, he never made that pleasant Ohio community his residence. As his fame grew, he was called upon to execute commission after commission. In Central Park of New York City stand his "Pilgrim" and his "Private of the Seventh Regiment." In Washington, Ward created the "Garfield" monument. Among his last works was the pediment of the New York Stock Exchange. Insisting upon the most exact anatomical measurements, Ward's works mark him as one of the Nation's greatest artists in his medium.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. VI

The graphic arts, including etching, lithography and the cartoon, were not as popular before the turn of the century as were painting and sculpturing. Among the early Cleveland etchers, however, was Otto Bacher who studied with De Scott Evans and then in 1878 journeyed to Europe to continue his training. It is said that he was among the first Clevelanders to seek further training abroad. In Venice, Bacher struck up a friendship with the renowned Whistler and embalmed their experiences together in a volume entitled *With Whistler in Venice*. In 1885, Elis F. Miller, of Columbus, published a portfolio of etchings called *Twenty Original American Etchings*. Duveneck, another Ohio artist, also tried his hand at etchings, but his fame rests primarily upon another medium. Twachtman, primarily a painter, amused himself with etchings, and Robert Blum, originally a lithographer, began etching in 1879. Blum frequently illustrated articles for the magazines of his day.

The lithographic arts were stimulated in Cleveland by the firm of W. J. Morgan & Company that employed Cleveland artists to do much of their work. In 1883, this concern published *The Sketch Book*, an anthology of etchings done by local artists. Among these were Louis Ritter, J. W. Bell, R. Way Smith, George A. Hopkins, E. W. Palmer, Amelia Dueringer and many others.¹⁰⁰

Closely related to the more serious graphic arts is the cartoonist who must work swiftly and well and must present a situation with extreme simplicity and clarity. It was not until 1894 that the colored comic first appeared in American newspapers. On November 18, the New York *World* ran the comics drawn by a native of Lancaster, Ohio. Richard F. Outcault, author of the *World's* comics, had been trained as a draughtsman, had worked for Edison and had studied in Paris. Upon his return to the United States he began drawing for amusement and so became one of the first successful comic cartoonists in the country. Outcault's fame, however, was not made until 1901 when he created a character remembered even today by thousands—"Buster Brown." Another Ohio cartoonist was Grant E.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. X.

Hamilton who had been born in Youngstown and who for years was a member of the art staff of the New York *Graphic*. Hamilton's cartoons during the Spanish-American War did much, it is said, to influence public opinion. Opposed to Bryan in 1896, Hamilton had struck hard at the silver-tongued orator's stand on the currency question.

William A. Rogers of Springfield was another prominent Ohio cartoonist and illustrator. In 1877, Rogers became a member of the art department of *Harper's Weekly* where his active pencil depicted contemporary events. Two years later he was sent to Leadville, Colorado, to illustrate the mining boom. He joined the staff of the New York *Herald* in 1901. A marked characteristic of Rogers' work was his interest in persons, whom he drew with great attention to detail and with human understanding.¹⁰¹ Other prominent Ohio cartoonists were Charles Nelan who in 1888 began work on the staff of the Cleveland *Press*; Charles S. Macauley who won a prize offered by the Cleveland *Press* in 1891; and J. H. Donahey who began drawing pictures for the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* in 1899.

Literary and artistic progress in Ohio did not go unnoticed. Rollin L. Hartt, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, said that although Chicagoans bragged that they made culture hum, "in Ohio . . . these finer growths are coming to a golden fruitage by grace of quiet sunshine and patient, loving care." He went on to describe the Buckeye fruitage as "a notable development in literary taste, a devotion to great music, an enthusiasm for art, a novel admiration for good architecture, and an increasing desire to ennoble the surroundings of common life."¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 270-8.

¹⁰² Rollin L. Hartt, "The Ohioans," 505, 687.

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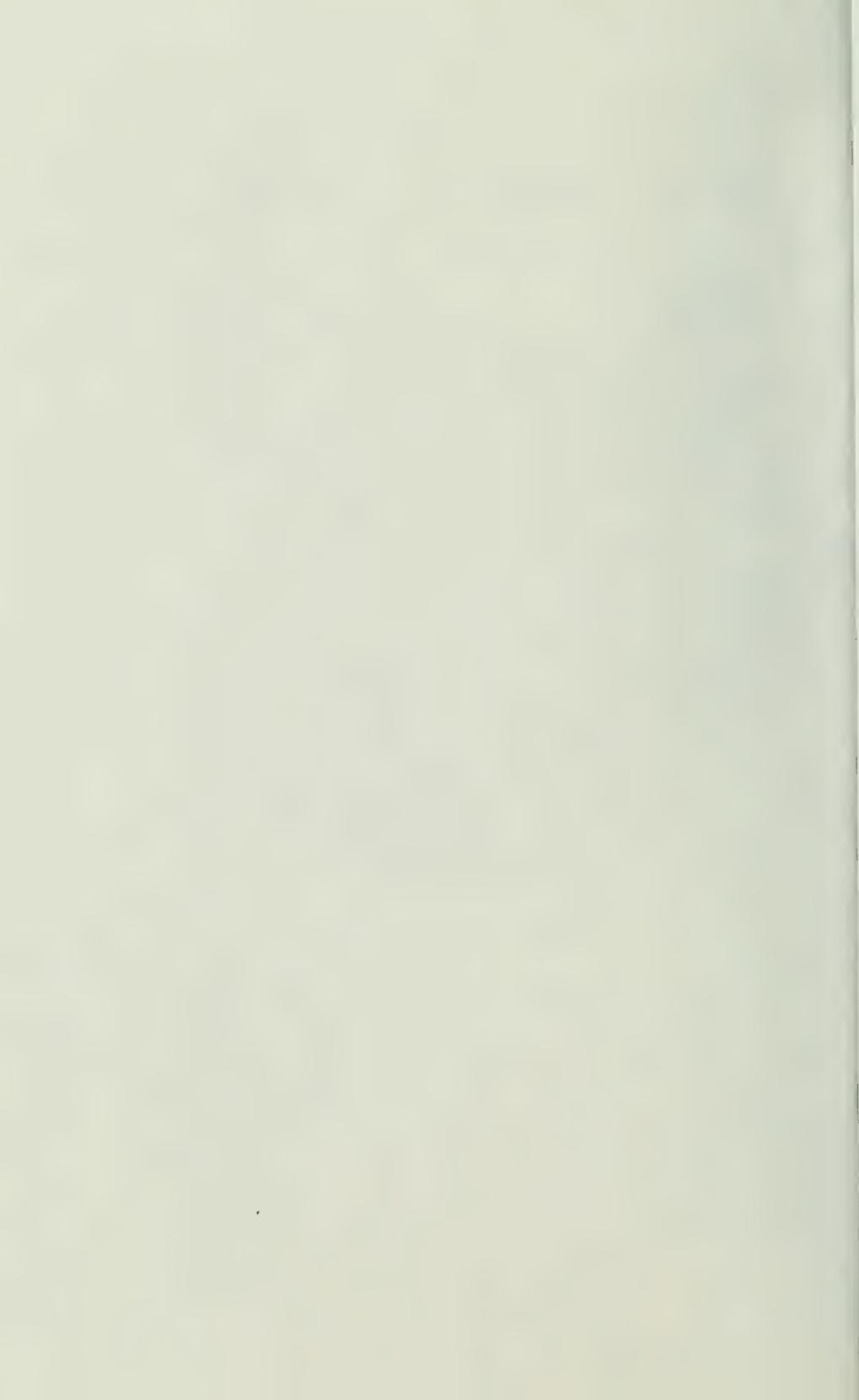
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